

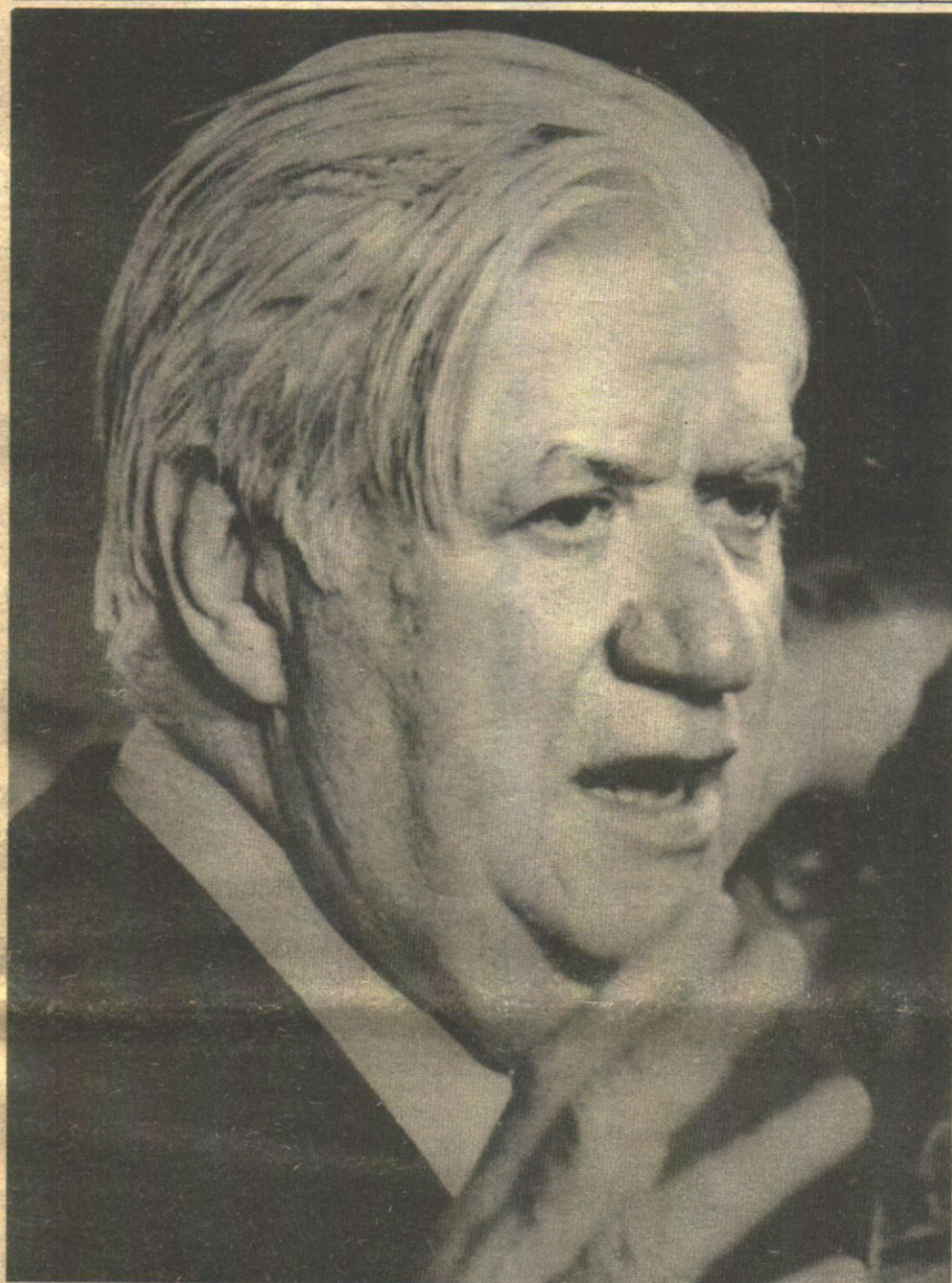
# IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 5

Dec. 13-19, 1976

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

40 Cents



Rep. Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.), the new speaker of the House. O'Neill, the old majority leader, will be replaced by Rep. James C. Wright (D-Tex.) who won an upset victory over Rep. Phillip Burton (D-Calif.). **Page 4.**

Photo by UPI



Nursery school teachers are among the traditionally non-union workers now being organized. **Special Section, Page 11.**

Photo by Louis Lefler/LNS

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Henry Kissinger, outgoing secretary of state, in a friendly chat with his successor, Cyrus Vance. See our background on Vance. **Page 7.**

Photo by UPI



A not atypical scene in New York city's South Bronx. We have an analysis of New York's current crisis. **Page 5.**

Photo by Sidne Hart/LNS



## IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week in July and the third week in December by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc.

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Printed at the Merrill Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.

This edition published Dec. 13, 1976, for newsstand sales Dec. 13-19.

Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Illinois.

## NEWSFRONT

## Spanish Socialists boycott vote

## Spanish socialists meet

"Our party is socialist and will struggle to transform society while respecting individual rights," Felipe Gonzalez, first secretary of the Spanish Socialist party, told the party congress Dec. 8 in Madrid. It was the first public congress since the civil war.

"Socialists do not use brute force but they are aware that bourgeois forces may break the rules of the democratic game and must be prepared to defend their gains by any means," he said. With that, the party decided to boycott the Dec. 15 Spanish referendum on constitutional reforms and to abstain from next spring's general elections unless the Suarez government legalizes all parties, including the Communists.

Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez told Willy Brandt, the former West German chancellor who is the new president of the Second International, that he would not accede to that demand. Brandt gave Gonzalez the news and went home. Many European leaders had visited the congress to support the movement that had spent 40 years underground.

The congress took some strong positions: It said neutrality would be the cornerstone of its foreign policy, demanded withdrawal of American bases from Spain, rejected both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, asked European governments to veto Common Market and Council of Europe membership for Spain until full democracy is established, condemned "imperialist interventionism of the U.S." in Latin American countries and supported Panama's claim for sovereignty over the canal.

Cries of "unity, unity" broke out when a telegram was read from Santiago Carrillo, the exiled Communist party secretary general, stating his party's determination to fight alongside the Socialists for democracy and repel any attempt to sabotage their alliance.

## NATO, East-West and OPEC

In Brussels, Belgium, two days earlier, the NATO countries except France said at a year-end ministers meeting that they were concerned about the increasing military strength of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Three days later they heard via a telegram from President-elect Carter that the American commitment to NATO "shall be sustained and strengthened under my administration."

In Paris that day, the West won postponement of the decisive Dec. 20 ministerial meeting of the North-South Dialog between rich and poor nations as a way to maintain leverage against the OPEC nations meeting Dec. 15 to raise oil prices. OPEC had been prepared, it was reported, to moderate the price rise in exchange for concessions to the poor countries.

Elsewhere on the international-bloc front, Kurt Waldheim was re-elected to a second five-year term as U.N. secretary-general, after China initially vetoed the nominee.

## Movement in Mideast

There was movement last week in the Mideast diplomatic front. In a rare U.N. motion, Israel called Dec. 6 for reconvening the Geneva Mideast peace conference "without prior conditions." Within days, the Palestine Liberation Organization was reported ready to agree to an Egyptian proposal for a single, united Arab delegation to Geneva and to form a government in exile, two moves that would make it easier for the U.S. and the USSR to arrange the conference.

Photo by Image Arts-SD



**Camp Pendleton.** David Duke, grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, speaks to reporters last Monday. He had been struck on the head with a stick a few minutes earlier. Duke and other KKK members were unfurling a KKK banner outside a courtroom; a pretrial investigation was taking place of some black marines charged with conspiracy and assault against white marines they presumed to be KKK members. Duke said he had come to the camp to show solidarity with white marines. He claimed the Marine Corps discriminates against white people.

## Australia revalues

In Australia that day, it was up down under as the Canberra government announced a 2 percent revaluation following a 17.5 percent devaluation only nine days earlier.

## Troops move on Mexicans

In northwest Mexico, troops moved in Dec. 9 to face 4,500 peasants as the peasants began withdrawing from blocking roads and entrances to estates they wanted expropriated. Another 2,000 peasants ended a 36-hour occupation of the Agrarian Reform Ministry a day earlier.

## Supreme Court acts

In Washington Dec. 6, the Supreme Court ruled the existence of neighborhood schools predominantly populated by one race or ethnic group does not alone constitute a form of racial discrimination. The conservative court said school authorities must be shown to have had an intent to segregate before a neighborhood school policy may be struck down. Whether the action will cut down markedly on the readiness of federal courts to order busing as an antidote to racially isolated schools remains to be seen.

The court also ordered postponement of the execution of convict Robert White, who was to have died in the Texas electric chair Dec. 12. The next day, the California Supreme Court declared that state's death penalty statute was unconstitutional because it made execution mandatory for certain crimes. The court had struck down an earlier statute in 1972. The next day in Utah, a lawyer for convicted murderer Gary M. Gilmore, spared execution the previous week, argued that he should be set free because

he was not executed within 60 days of the sentence, as stipulated by Utah law.

Gilmore himself denounced his mother as an "uninvited meddler" for intervening in his case with the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union. And the widow of Gilmore's victim, Benny Bushnell, filed a \$2 million suit against him.

## Mistrial for Gov. Mandel

In Baltimore Dec. 7, a mistrial was declared in the three-month corruption trial of Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel and four business associates following reports that a juror was offered a bribe. The government said it would move quickly for a retrial against Mandel, accused of mail fraud and conspiracy in an alleged scheme in which he purportedly influenced legislation to benefit his associates and received valuable favors in return.

## UAW won't rejoin yet

The next day in Detroit, the United Auto Workers union said it was deferring decision whether to rejoin the AFL-CIO. President Leonard Woodcock said reaffiliation for the three-million-member union with the 14-million-member AFL may be voted on at the union convention in May in Los Angeles.

Meanwhile, UAW workers at General Motors Corp. have voted to accept a contract covering 390,000 workers, the union announced. Production workers approved the pact by a 7-1 margin, while skilled tradesmen approved it 2-1. About 170,000 G.M. workers voted.

## George Meany, theater critic

Finally, that same day in Washington, AFL-CIO President George Meany turned theater critic, declaring Americans can play Shakespeare better than the British. His review came as part of a criticism of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which will pay the BBC \$1.2 million over six years to help sponsor 36 Shakespeare plays. "There are thousands of unemployed American performers and craft personnel who could match or exceed the work of their contemporaries in other countries," Meany said in his letter.

## A note to our readers

I know it has been taking up to three weeks for you to receive *In These Times* in the mail. It isn't our fault and it isn't the fault of your mail carrier. It is the fault of U.S. postal regulations that make it very difficult to launch new publications.

In order for *In These Times* to arrive with the same dispatch as *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *New Yorker*, we must have a second-class mailing permit.

The post office is not at all quick to approve second-class permits. We've been told it often takes it six months to two years to approve an application.

*In These Times* is doing all it can to try and speed the arrival process along. We have hopes that we will have our second-class permit within two or three months.

In the meantime, any letters you write to the Postmaster General in Washington will only help.

Three days or three weeks, we like to think *In These Times* is worth waiting for.

Doyle Niemann



# Missile X may up the arms race ante

By John Markoff

Eugene, Ore. The Air Force spent \$36 million this year developing an intercontinental ballistic missile that will give the U.S. a potential first-strike nuclear capability despite two congressional committees having specifically prohibited development of that capability.

The new weapon is known as Missile X (MX) and initial deployment is planned by the air force for 1985. MX will carry between 10 and 12 separately maneuverable nuclear warheads that reportedly will be accurate to within feet at intercontinental distances.

Pentagon critics have said these capabilities will mean the MX will be able to destroy hardened Soviet missile silos and will destabilize the arms race.

The air force's ignoring of congressional restrictions came to light in testimony before Sen. Thomas McIntyre's (D-N.H.) research and development subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services committee. When questioned by McIntyre and committee staffers earlier this year, air force representatives replied they had decided to ignore the prior committee restriction and a similar, but more general restriction by the House Appropriations committee because Congress had appropriated funding at the same time it placed the restrictions.

## ►\$49 million to spend.

"We had \$49 million appropriated by Congress to spend," said Lt. Gen. Alton Slay, deputy director of Air Force research and development. "If we had complied with the directions of both the committees that objected—one to the mobile and one to the silo basing — we couldn't have spent a dime."

Before passing air force budget requests for 1976, the Senate committee had inserted language into their report that read "studies will not be conducted for a new fixed-base ICBM because of its questionable survivability." The House committee language said, "The committee recommends the funds requested in this program for the mobile ICBM systems be denied."

After the air force testimony, McIntyre criticized the military and rewrote restrictions into the 1977 military appropriations bill to prohibit MX silo basing. "Since the air force flaunted our report language to this effect last year, we spelled this directive out in detail and with emphasis," McIntyre said.

Congress this year has appropriated \$69 million in MX research funding, with the understanding that only a mobile version will be worked on. As a result, despite controversy over restrictions, the air force has not slowed its new missile program.

U.S. military planners claim they need

...and here's our  
pride n' joy gentlemen—  
a vegetarian  
trench!



a new missile to offset recent Soviet gains in ICBM technology. The U.S. began developing MX in 1974 as a mobile system, designed for what the air force admits is a "shell game" in which the Soviets theoretically would be uncertain at any time where American missiles are located. This is intended to "enhance survivability" of the American ICBM force and make a potential attacker hesitant to launch a first strike against the U.S. because of the uncertainty of being able to locate and destroy American missiles.

## ►Side-effects of mobile strategy.

However, the new mobile strategy has several side-effects that also obviously work to destabilize the nuclear balance. As American ICBMs become "mobile" and "hardened," pressure would increase for the Soviets to expand their nuclear missile arsenal to avoid the possibility of a successful American first strike.

A more serious problem would be that once both sides have mobile, and consequently hidden ICBMs, arms control agreements would become virtually impossible because neither side would be able to verify the quantity and capabilities of opposing forces.

If MX is not stopped by Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) in 1977, it appears likely that an uncontrolled escalation in the arms race would take place in the 1980s.

The U.S. already has a significant arms race lead according to observers outside the Pentagon. A congressional source told *In These Times*, "The U.S. already [has] remarkable advantages in ICBM technology, particularly in accuracy, which is the critical characteristic that provides you with the ability to attack successfully very hardened silos. The MX would be

several quantum leaps at once in capability and despite all the Soviet buildup there is still nothing quite like the MX."

Until this year the Pentagon has claimed the MX rationale was a projected Soviet threat to ICBM silos sometime in the 1980s.

## ►U.S. would have first strike capacity.

In budget testimony before Congress this year, however, the Pentagon admitted it was interested in MX to gain "increased ICBM capability."

One congressional committee staffer explained, "a lot of people figured that was what they wanted in the first place. More ICBM capability really means more capability to efficiently destroy Soviet ICBMs in their silos." The result would be a clear U.S. capability of launching a first strike against the Soviet Union.

Although MX technology itself is well-established, the air force is studying alternative methods of mobile-basing the missile. An early list of 30 options has been narrowed to three:

- An air-mobile system in which wide-bodied jets would drop missiles from the air. The missiles would fall out of plane tails and then ignite their engines. This option is considered the most expensive because the air force would have to purchase a fleet of planes in addition to new missiles.

- A land-based system called a "hardened shelter system," which works exactly like a shell game. The military would build as many as 10,000 missile shelters in the Midwest and Southwest. Only about 1,000 would actually be occupied at any given time. Missiles would be shuffled routinely between silos in a giant slight-of-hand.

- A second land-based system called a

"hardened trench system," which consists of trenches that may extend from horizon to horizon. MX missiles would be carried underground on giant transporters traveling in concrete tubes. Transporters would move about randomly, breaking through the surface with hydraulic lifters to fire the MX.

This last system is the most likely candidate, according to military testimony. It is also the alternative most likely to draw opposition from environmentalists. Trenches would rise above the surrounding terrain and may possibly disrupt the surrounding ecology as much as the Alaskan pipeline.

Additionally, the military intends to build hundreds, and possibly as many as a thousand, of these trenches in many areas that have previously been undeveloped.

The biggest MX stumbling block is cost. One congressional staff member said in an interview, "This is a system—depending on how many you buy and how you deploy them—that is likely to cost more than the B1; it's 20 or 30 billions of dollars."

The \$20 to \$30 billion figure given to Congress by the air force is in 1976 dollars and does not take account of inflation.

The MX may eventually become as explosive an issue as the B1. According to one observer, "the MX could be accused of costing more than the B1. In addition to that it would be a potential destabilizing weapon, an arms control problem because of the uncertainties of mobile basing and an environmental issue."

John Markoff is an associate of the Pacific Northwest Research Center who writes regularly for *In These Times*.

## Lockheed scandal affects Japanese elections

By Robert Miller

Ann Arbor, Mich. Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Miki has announced he will resign and accept responsibility for the worst electoral showing by the ruling Liberal Democratic party since its formation 21 years ago. Miki's most likely successor is former Finance Minister Takeo Fukuda, who is the voice of big business and the leader of the party's anti-Miki faction.

Although the conservative Democrats retained a majority in the 551-member lower house with 257 seats, they failed to garner the 271 seats necessary to retain control of all chairmanships of parliamentary committees.

The \$12.3 million Lockheed scandal obviously tarnished the party image and tended to produce a significant protest

vote for the Clean Government party (Komeito), Democratic Socialists and the new Liberal Club, which picked up 25, 10 and 12 seats respectively. A fifth party, the Socialists, were unable to capitalize on the scandals because of a party member's arrest on an extortion charge. But they will nevertheless remain the largest opposition group with 120 seats.

The most significant scandal effect, however, was its impact on the leadership struggle that is occurring among the factions that compose the party. Because Miki vowed to get to the bottom of the scandal and work toward development of an anti-monopoly bill, the large Japanese corporations funneled company contributions into the Fukuda-led anti-Miki factions. Fukuda is known to be pro-Taiwan as well as pro-big business.

A man who might have some say whether Fukuda will, in fact, become prime minister is former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, who was easily re-elected to the lower house. Tanaka, though under indictment on a charge of receiving \$1,670,000 in Lockheed bribes, remains popular in his Niigata district for his ability to channel lucrative government projects there during his tenure in office.

The biggest election loser was clearly the Communist party, which lost 22 of its 39 seats. This was an especially stunning blow since 20 seats are needed for a party to introduce legislation. The party was eager to join other opposition groups to challenge the government but no one took the offer.

Before the election, Kenji Miyamoto, the party chairman, said, "We are willing not merely to form a progressive coalition government with the Socialists, but to cooperate with anyone, even the anti-communist moderate Democratic Socialists, who will join in a more tolerable government."

Miyamoto's declaration as well as his

statement that the Communist party would no longer insist on abrogation of the U.S. security treaty as the goal of such a government probably lost him some support from urban youth.

The Socialist party, which tends to be more moderate than other socialist parties throughout the world, was also eager to join with opposition groups, but was prevented from doing so by tactical considerations.

If it risked a political partnership with the Communist party, it would alienate the Clean Government party and the Democratic Socialists who are to their right. A Socialist alliance with the latter two, however, would most likely cause the party left wing to bolt and would undoubtedly undermine trade union support for Socialist election campaigns.

Another notable election feature was that only 25 of the 899 office-seekers were women despite their being the majority of the electorate.

Robert Miller is a free-lance writer who follows Japanese affairs.



# IN THE NATION

## House leader: the 'congressman from Convair'

By Tim Frasca  
Washington Bureau

Washington. Liberal Democrats in the House of Representatives are still outside the inner-power circle after a surprise defeat for a top leadership position.

Rep. Phillip Burton (D-Calif.) was expected to win the majority leader post because of the pronounced liberal tendency of the 292-member Democratic Caucus in the lower house.

But Rep. James C. Wright (D-Tex.) easily the most conservative of the candidates running, beat Burton by 149-148 in the third secret ballot. Burton's abrasive personality was widely cited as a reason members ideologically sympathetic to him abandoned him in the voting.

Wright's step into the second most-powerful House position will reinforce the longstanding moderate-to-conserva-

tive grip on the leadership posts. Although reforms have diminished their power in recent years, the top Democrats' ability to stall or dislodge bills is still enormous.

"My boss is really upset," said the aide to one liberal member. "We thought we'd have someone devoted to liberal causes, willing to give a break to this bill or that amendment. Now we'll be on the outs, like always."

Wright's primary congressional support in 22 years has come from labor and the huge defense industries in his Fort Worth district. Not surprisingly, he is extremely loyal to the Pentagon and his vigorous support for the F111 TFX fighter plane earned him the nickname "the congressman from Convair."

►From the Navy.

Convair had the TFX contract and is a subsidiary of General Dynamics, located

in Wright's district. One of Wright's former administrative assistants told a Ralph Nader organization that Wright had gotten his facts and data on the TFX straight from the navy.

In 1970 Wright's district received more Defense department outlays than any other in the nation—more than \$1.3 billion, or \$1,700 a person. He has been a consistent hawk on Vietnam and related issues and took a leading role in supporting former President Nixon in 1969 against war critics.

However, Wright also has New Deal origins and supports much social welfare legislation, as well as most pro-labor measures, although the *New York Times* called him "responsive to oil and gas industry pressures." He opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and, as head of the Public Works Committee, has earned an anti-environment reputation.

Although Wright has kept his district quite happy, he never completely cemented ties with the powerful Texas Democratic party and its bankrollers, especially the oil business. As a result, according to the Nader profile, he could never attract enough campaign money to run for the Senate, as he wanted to do.

Wright's accession at the same time as President-elect Carter is a curious coincidence. Both are fairly conservative, yet liberal by southern standards, and are tied to organized labor and middle-level industries rather than the major corporations.

Having Wright in the House leadership will be ideal for Carter's early plans to stimulate jobs and improve social services, while reassuring business and investors that profits will not suffer, but expand as a result.

## Supreme Court 'legalizes sex discrimination'

The Supreme Court ruled 6-3 Dec. 7 that employers who provide disability benefits are not guilty of sex discrimination if they exclude absences due to pregnancy. The ruling reversed rulings by six lower courts.

The court reasoned that the disability plans did not exclude anyone because of sex, but merely removed one physical condition, pregnancy, from coverage. Any man who got "pregnant" would not be covered, either.

The decision does not bar unions from bargaining for such coverage, nor does it preclude legislation reversing the ruling, but companies are free to drop pregnancy coverage from disability plans. And it may open the way for employers to change policies for maternity leave or the hiring of pregnant women.

Women's rights groups were shocked by the decision. "The Supreme Court legalized sex discrimination. They are denying millions of working women fair and equal treatment," said Susan Rose of the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation.

She predicted the decision would open the door for harsh treatment for pregnant women by employers, saying employers will be firing them, refusing to hire them and forcing them to take long unpaid leaves of absence."

NOW president Karen DeCrow expressed "anger, outrage and amazement." She said NOW, confident the court would rule the other way, had prepared a two-year strategy to implement the decision.

"I think we're going to have to start drafting legislation immediately," she said.

Labor unions are also preparing legislation to counteract the decision. David Fitzmaurice, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, one of the plaintiffs in the suit the court ruled on, pledged the union would lobby for such legislation.

The Chamber of Commerce, on the other hand, was overjoyed. They hailed court agreement with their position. A Washington actuary has estimated that if pregnancy were treated like other disabilities the cost to corporations would be \$1.6 billion a year.

In a dissenting opinion, Justice John



Paul Stevens said, "The rule at issue places the risk of absence caused by pregnancy in a class by itself. By definition, such a rule discriminates on account of sex; for it is the capacity to become pregnant which primarily differentiates the female from the male."

Justices Brennan and Marshall, also dissenting, pointed out that the General Electric Co. plan in question covered vasectomies, prostatectomies and circumcisions, with no comparable coverage for women.

—Judy MacLean

## Chicago grand jury harasses Puerto Ricans

By Judy MacLean  
National Staff Writer

Chicago. A federal grand jury ostensibly investigating bombings by a Puerto Rican nationalist group, the FALN (Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation) is being used to harass and intimidate the Puerto Rican community, pro-independence activists here say.

"When you look at the people who've received subpoenas, you see the subpoenas are not in terms of connection with these people and bombings," says Cindy Zucker, coordinator of the Coalition to Stop the Grand Jury.

Zucker believes the subpoenas are part of a pattern of FBI harassment aimed at the overall movement for Puerto Rican independence. She points to the subpoena for Myran Salgado Lopez, whose only connection is that she is "director of Rafael Cancel Miranda High School, an alternative high school—the only one in Chicago that teaches Puerto Rican history and culture and the history of the independence movement."

Jose Lopez, who also received a subpoena, teaches Puerto Rican history at

Northeastern Illinois University. Both have been prominent spokespeople in Chicago for the cause of Puerto Rican independence.

In October, police found explosives allegedly similar to those used in a recent bombing that FALN claimed credit for in an apartment owned by Carlos Alberto Torres. Fifty extra FBI agents were immediately assigned to Chicago.

"Since then, the police and FBI have been randomly stopping cars in the Puerto Rican community, allegedly looking for this guy," explained one woman who asked not to be identified for fear of grand jury harassment. "It's like a dragnet."

►At gunpoint.

Independence activists report being followed and threatened by FBI agents at gunpoint. They say FBI vans are parked day and night outside certain homes and churches; some activists haven't received mail in over a month.

So far seven activists have been summoned by the grand jury, but four subpoenas have been postponed indefinitely. "The court felt the heat from all the support for these people," says Dennis

Cunningham, who represents the remaining three. The Committee to Stop the Grand Jury has brought more than a hundred people to witness court proceedings connected with the subpoenas.

Cunningham's legal team filed a motion to quash the three subpoenas on the grounds that there was no connection between the witnesses and the crimes the grand jury is investigating. A judge is considering the motion. Cunningham says the U.S. attorney has still not shown any connection.

Grand juries are not supposed to be used to find someone, Cunningham explained. He says the FBI is using this grand jury to suspend 1st Amendment rights. Constitutionally, a refusal to talk to the FBI is legal, but refusal to talk to a grand jury results in a jail sentence for the jury's term.

Cunningham cited Juan Lopez, who was served his subpoena at gunpoint by FBI agents and told, "You wouldn't talk to us, now you'll have to talk to the grand jury," as an example of the illegal FBI use of the grand jury.

Throughout the past year, another federal grand jury in New York has been

subpoenaing Puerto Rican activists in another bombing inquiry. One activist, Luraida Torres, served four and a half months in jail on contempt charges for refusing to testify before that grand jury. The three in Chicago face terms of up to a year if the motion to quash fails and they later refuse to testify.

►"Easier targets."

Zucker says the process follows the pattern established by grand juries harassing activists in other cities. She noted no subpoenas have been served to members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, which spearheaded the independence movement in Chicago. "They first pick people who aren't in an organization, who they hope will be easier targets," Zucker says. The PSP has a policy of refusal to talk to the FBI or grand juries.

The government is out to portray the entire Puerto Rican independence movement as terrorists, Zucker says. "So they target people whose activities are bringing the cause of independence before large numbers of people."

People wishing to support the Committee To Stop the Grand Jury should write P.O. Box 8493, Chicago



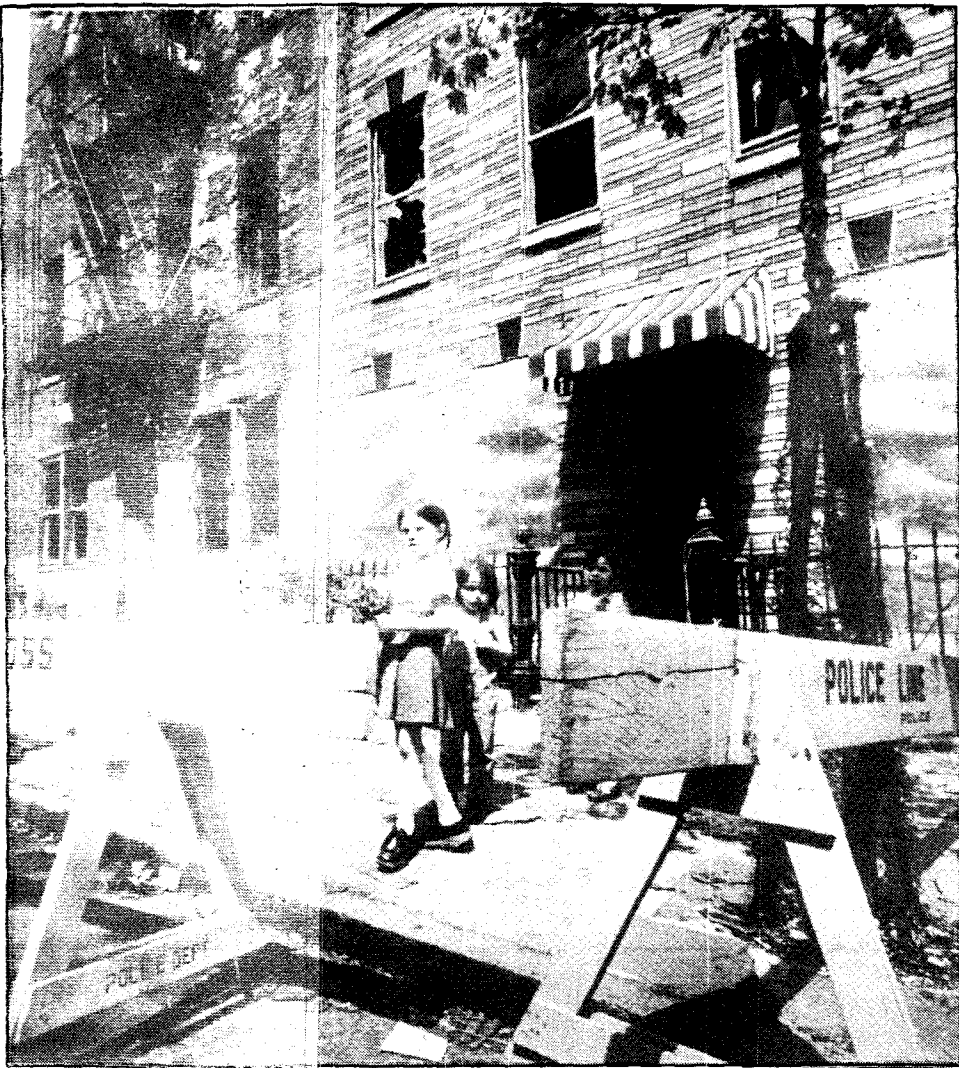


Photo by Laurie Leifer/LNS

## Down the drain: The New York fiscal debacle

By David Mermelstein

Seemingly "rescued" late last year, numb New Yorkers brace themselves once again for the possibility of a formal default. The current crisis stems from a court order nullifying the moratorium declared on city notes a year ago. The N.Y. State Court of Appeals has ordered that investors be paid back the \$1 billion owed them, a sum New York city doesn't have.

Raising billions on short notice has in the past been the unique forte of the resourceful banker Felix Rohatyn, chairman of Big Mac (Municipal Assistance Corporation), charged with overseeing the city's finances. If the attitude of many New Yorkers is "no-hum, what's new?" it is not so much they expect Rohatyn and the President-elect to bail them out in the nick of time—as in an old-fashioned melodrama—as a growing awareness that it doesn't much matter. If the truth be told, in all but name New York city has already defaulted.

Bankrupt firms, if not cities, are either liquidated or reorganized. Since not even the harshest of New York's critics insist upon liquidation, reorganization has prevailed.

Whether official default occurs now, later or never (interestingly, the three-year plan, even working on optimistic projections already refuted by the current economic "pause," will actually increase New York's debt by \$3 billion), it is worth looking at some of the deeper roots and implications of the current fiscal debacle, since many of the issues apply not only to New York—reason enough for national concern—but to the entire North Central and Northeast regions.

Tough-minded critics of New York point to waste, "extravagances" like the City University or the mollicoddling of blacks on welfare or municipal workers of any color. Some of these criticisms are not off base. Jack Newfield has shown that more than \$1 billion has been squandered on unaudited Medicaid bills, the Hunts Point Market, Yankee Stadium and other bail-outs and legal graft for the benefit of Con Ed and other power-brokers.

To some extent though, New York is simply "guilty" of trying to make possible the "American Dream" for the masses who still find their way to this not so fun city.

The other side of such extravagance is a failure of others to pay for higher education, hospitals, mass transit and welfare. For example, New York State requires its cities to contribute almost one-quarter of the costs of aid to families with dependent children, the highest percentage of any state. In contrast, Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Cleveland, among others, pay nothing at all.

### ►Municipal workers.

If we should turn to city salaries, the picture is similar. Compared to 11 major cities (nine of which have 10-20 percent lower living costs), New York in 1974 paid teachers less than Chicago and Detroit, police less than Los Angeles, San Francisco and Detroit, and firemen less than its two West Coast counterparts. Only New York's sanitation workers stood a clear first.

As the Congressional Budget Office study puts it, given "New York's cost of living...its wages are not particularly out of line."

Attempts to blame municipal workers or those on welfare for the fiscal crisis are overstated, misleading or even malicious attempts at scapegoating. The deeper roots of the crisis lie in the workings of the capitalist accumulation process.

The technological revolution in agriculture, for example—partly the product of federal programs underwriting agricultural prices—"pushed" blacks and poor whites off southern farmlands and into northern cities.

At the same time, investment in single family houses and suburban shopping centers—aided by an elaborate system of federal subsidy, mortgage guarantees, tax-deductible interest—and a vast network of highways linking city to suburb, has undermined the economic base of the central city.

Another aspect of the process that deserves more public attention is the way



Photo by Laurie Leifer/LNS

Budget cuts. Left: Children play in front of building that burned down after city closed firehouse. Above: Mothers protest day-care funds slash.

New York and other northern industrial states are being milked to support the military-industrial complex in the Sunbelt. In 1973 New York city paid \$7.5 billion more in federal taxes than it received back in federal payments, a sum large enough to wipe out the entire New York deficit within two years.

From a different angle, over one-half million jobs have been lost in New York city since 1969 as corporations big and small turn to where labor is cheap and pliant, where energy is less expensive and where local government is more sympathetic to the needs of capital.

### ►National economic crisis.

These trends in New York's economy were made worse by the national economic crisis that climaxed in the fall of '74 with massive unemployment. This crisis impaired the financial health of city governments everywhere by sharply reducing revenues based on income and sales (and in New York city caused an increase in such expenditures as welfare).

It also created the context for New York's *de facto* default, the withdrawal of the major New York banks from the municipal-bond market.

Saddled with huge loans of dubious quality to real estate investment trusts, shipowners and shipyards for new oil tankers, foreign governments, and weak or bankrupt firms like W.T. Grant, as well as to New York city and state, these large commercial banks found themselves dangerously illiquid, especially as they were heavy short-term borrowers themselves.

As bank losses mounted there was no longer a need for tax exempt city securities. The banks, with Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan in the lead, dumped more than \$2 billion in city securities between October 1974 and March 1975 for other more profitable investments. The result was New York city's inability to market its bonds in the spring of '75.

The tie between the national and local economy—between the national crisis of unemployment, stagnation and inflation and the local crisis of fiscal deficit—exists on other planes as well. To solve the national crisis, the Ford administration and

the business community with which it has close ties opted for a slow growth policy. Urban belt-tightening is the local application of this national program of austerity.

### ►New Alternatives.

In the wake of Jimmy Carter's election, city leaders are pushing for new programs such as federal loan guarantees, even purchases of New York city securities by the U.S. Treasury itself.

Others, including Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, say that the fiscal crisis would evaporate if there were federalization of welfare and enactment of the Kennedy-Corman health-security bill and the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill.

Victor Gotbaum, head of the New York's largest public employee union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and also chairman of the Municipal Labor Committee, which has decisive influence on the further investment of union pension funds, insists that city unions will give New York no further aid (presumably by purchasing more MAC bonds with their pension funds) until there is "an overall solution" that includes federal aid.

Whether the Carter administration, which campaigned on its assurances to New York city, will actually adopt substantially different policies remains to be seen. Efforts to achieve reforms and new programs in the areas of medical care, welfare and, above all, jobs and urban fiscal renewal will run up against demands for defense spending as well as limits imposed by the corporate system's need to generate profits.

On the other hand, permitting New York city (not to speak of New York state and a dozen other major cities) to go down the tube, could endanger the N.Y. banks that still hold one-sixth of their equity in municipal bonds. The stability of the capitalist order itself would be jeopardized.

David Mermelstein is associate professor of economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and co-editor (with Roger E. Alcala) of the *Fiscal Crisis of American Cities*.



# Activists fight U.S. corporations' role in Korea

By Stefan Ostrach

Eugene, Ore. In the wake of continuing revelations of improper activities by South Korean agents in the U.S. and calls for the withdrawal of American troops in South Korea, a variety of activist groups are mounting campaigns against American aid and assistance to the repressive regime of Korean dictator Park Chung Hee.

South Korea is a major focus of a Clergy and Laity Concerned program on American Power and Political Repression.

The American Friends Service Committee's Peace Education Division is developing a new program emphasizing the underlying economic causes of international conflict, also with a focus on Korea.

And the Washington, D.C.-based Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy is planning a nationwide petition campaign to demand withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea as well as an end to military and economic aid.

These groups believe public support for the ending of aid is particularly important to prevent efforts to "Koreanize" the situation by providing South Korea with sophisticated weapons and money to replace the American troops so as not to jeopardize extensive U.S. corporate investments there.

## ►Pacific Northwest important.

The new campaigns have a particular importance for activists in the Pacific Northwest. The November issue of *Northwest Bulletin*, published by the Pacific Northwest Research Center, points out that South Korea is now the region's third most important trading partner, trailing Canada and Japan.

Fully 80 percent of American wheat exported to South Korea passes through Northwest ports. Exports also include logs, animal hides, and scrap metal, while imports include steel, electronics, and forest products.

The AFSC Peace Team in Portland, concerned about agribusiness and the world food crisis, is focusing on Cargill Inc., which has major facilities in Portland through which it exports wheat to

South Korea. The Minneapolis-based Cargill, the world's largest grain exporter, reaped profits of \$194 million in 1975.

Unlike other agribusiness giants like Del Monte or General Foods, you won't find Cargill's name on supermarket shelves. The corporation is very secretive about its operations and shuns publicity.

A Cargill trade journal advertisement explains the company's approach: "Cargill doesn't just sell grain. Cargill markets grain. That means finding markets, or creating them. It means developing markets. And expanding them..."

## ►A multinational that builds dependency.

AFSC's Maud Easter says they chose Cargill as an example of "a multinational corporation that channels food to those who can best pay for it rather than those who are most hungry."

They chose the day before Thanksgiving to begin their attack on Cargill's role in fostering food dependency in South Korea, and particularly focusing on the role of U.S. Public Law 480—the Food for Peace Act.

Like many other U.S. aid programs, the main beneficiaries of PL480 have been corporations like Cargill and foreign dictators like Park.

PL480, for instance, financed 95 percent of the cost of establishing Cargill's South Korean subsidiary, and PL480 funds provided to Korea created the market for Cargill's grain. One consequence of the food program has been that South Korea's dependence on imports has increased from 6 percent in 1962 to 35 percent in 1975.

Park has used the imported grain to undercut the price of local grain, forcing farmers off the land. The resulting pool of cheap labor has in turn been an incentive for investment by other corporations.

Most of the Food for Peace aid money has not even gone for food; 85 percent of Park's Food for Peace revenues have gone for military expenditures.

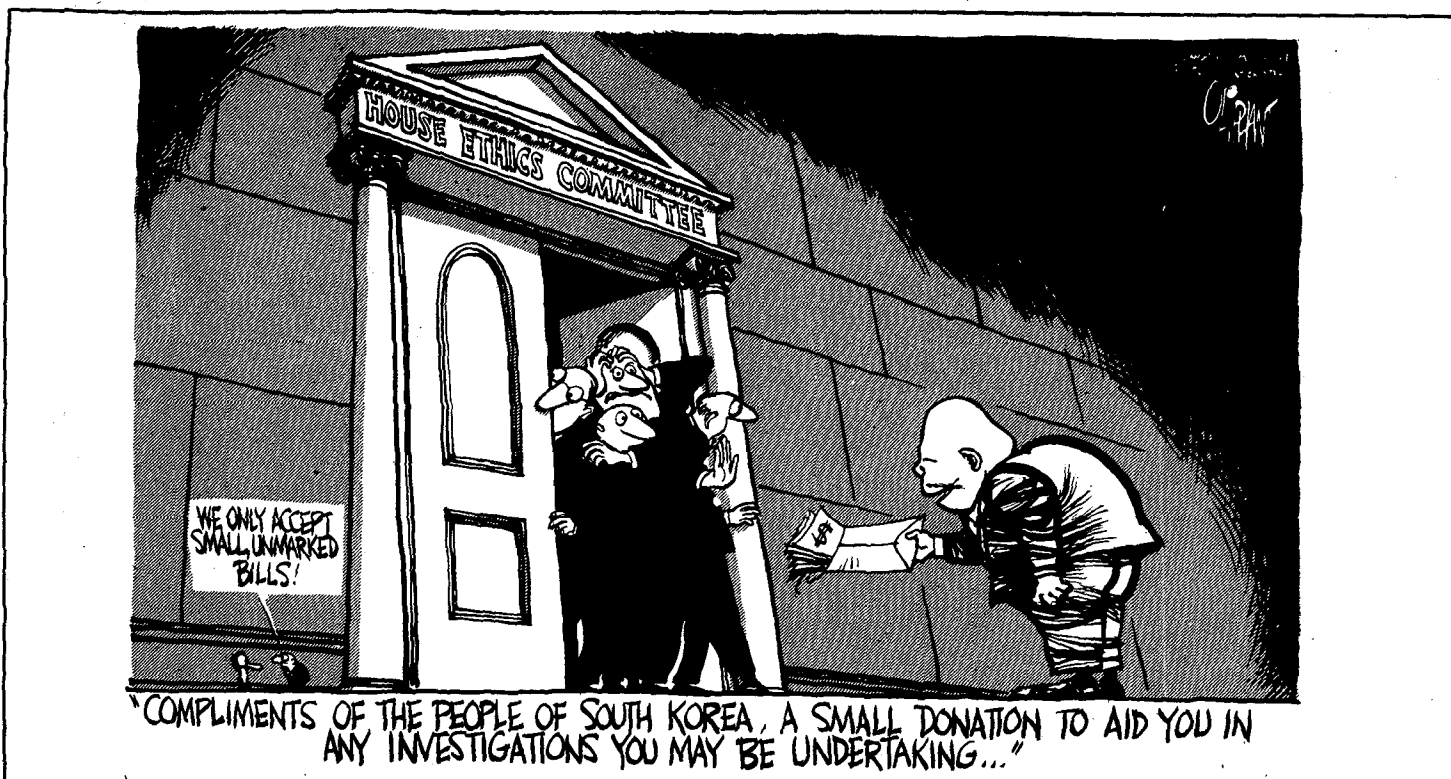
South Korea's wage earners are desperately poor—87 percent live below the poverty line at a bare subsistence level. More than one-fourth of the labor force

is either unemployed, underemployed in part-time jobs, or reduced to peddling, begging, or prostitution. Unions are controlled by the government, and strikes are outlawed.

Korea's "good business climate" has attracted many U.S. corporations. Tandy, for example, pays South Korean workers from \$1.50 to just over \$2 per day to manufacture Realistic brand stereo equipment, sold in the U.S. through its nationwide chain of Radio Shack stores. The Bank of Korea estimates, meanwhile, that the absolute minimum necessary to sustain an urban family of four is \$3 per day.

AFSC's Portland actions are only the beginning of a long campaign, but supporters believe that a change in U.S. policy toward South Korea is bound to come. Whether it will be merely a superficial facelift or of more substance, they feel, depends on how much public pressure for an end to aid to corporations and dictators can be mounted.

Stefan Ostrach is a writer/activist in the Pacific Northwest.



## Random Samples

### Housewife: endangered specie

Are "housewives" going out of style? This may be the case, says a new survey that indicates that only 3 percent of girls in the U.S. 17 years of age want to become housewives.

Conducted by the National Assessment for Education Progress, the survey also shows that 37 percent of the girls polled fully expected to work outside the home most of their lives, whether they married or became mothers.

Only three in 100 said they would settle for the traditional housewife roles of settling down, having children and taking care of husbands.

### Korean bribe well spent

The *New York Times* reported Dec. 6 that lobbying efforts by South Korea—both legal and illegal—paid off in a crucial House of Representatives vote last spring with the passage of a military assistance bill with passages unfavorable to South Korea deleted.

The unfavorable portions of the bill would have reduced the number of American soldiers in South Korea, cut military aid and limited economic aid. Of the 241 representatives who voted to sup-

port the Korean position, at least 60 are known to have received one favor or another from Korean lobbyists, the *Times* reported.

### Demand investigation of American mercenaries

The International Commission of inquiry on Mercenarism and the National Conference of Black Lawyers are calling for a federal investigation of American citizens who operate as hired guns throughout the world.

Last June, 13 admitted mercenaries, including three American citizens, were tried by a military tribunal in Angola for their participation in fighting against the government of Angola. The three Americans in that trial testified that they were contacted by the FBI before they left for Angola, but that there was no attempt to prevent them from fighting as mercenaries, despite the fact that it is a violation of U.S. law.

A California crop duster and self-described soldier of fortune, David Bufkin, has also admitted that he had hired mercenaries to fight in Angola and says the money came from the CIA.

The two groups charge that there has been no effort to investigate widespread mercenary recruitment in the U.S.

### Death row population rises

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration reported Nov. 28 that a total of 285 persons were sentenced to death by local and state courts in 1975, bringing the Death Row population to 479 at the end of 1975.

Thirty states had at least one person on death row at the end of 1975, led by North Carolina with 103, Florida with 62 and California with 39. Eight were women. Fifty-three percent were black.

### So do layoffs

The U.S. Labor department reported Nov. 30 that the layoff rate of the nation's factories increased in October for the third straight month. The department said that manufacturers laid off 1.7 workers per 100 employees in October. This rate compared with 1.5 per 100 in September and 1.3 in August.

The increased layoffs were reflected in November's 8.1 percent unemployment rate, which rose from October's 7.9 percent.

### But not AT&T's taxes

AT&T, the world's largest corporation, has escaped paying at least \$2.94 billion in taxes over the last 10 years, says a former Internal Revenue Service official, Lawrence Sloan.

Sloan charged that AT&T used a vari-

ety of repair and depreciation loopholes to avoid the taxes.

Sloan, who was the principal valuation engineer and acting chief engineer on the Manhattan District of the IRS for 9 years, said that other companies are benefiting from IRS's failure to conduct thorough audits.

### American agriculture and processing wasteful

The only way to feed the world's hungry, a Cornell scientist reports, is to abandon the agricultural farming and processing methods used today by American agriculture.

Dr. David Pimentel, reporting at a food conference in Philadelphia, said that if the entire world were to adopt American farming and processing methods, the world's known petroleum energy reserves would be exhausted in 13 years.

The heavy reliance on meat production is one of the largest energy-consuming factors in the American style of eating. Another high energy-using factor is transportation, particularly the use of the automobile to transport food from the store to the private home. In terms of energy consumption related to an ordinary can of corn, the energy used to transport the can to the home from the store ranks second after the energy used to process the corn for packaging.





## Vance: diplomatic ambiguity

*Vance emerges as a perfect amalgam of Carter-era virtues.*

By Tim Frasca  
Washington Bureau

Washington. The nation is looking hard at President-elect Carter's first cabinet appointment for a Democratic alternative, but in Cyrus Vance, secretary of state-to-be, the "bright new direction" may amount to little beyond some shifts in the superficialities of style and technique.

Another signal that business-as-usual will be in command come January, came from the lame-duck secretary himself, Henry A. Kissinger, who seemed tickled pink at the choice. Kissinger termed Vance an "outstanding choice," called him immediately on learning of the appointment and set up an early consultation.

### ►A diplomat and negotiator.

Vance is portrayed as a diplomat par excellence, a "skilled and realistic negotiator," as the *New York Times* titled its profile, and "a figure of solidity and stature, widely respected in this country and abroad."

Potentially controversial questions about Vance's role in the Vietnam war are being turned to his advantage. The *Times* described his six and a half years in the Pentagon, eventually as deputy defense secretary, as one of "a supporter but not an advocate" of the war, a description that is itself a tribute to Vance's mastery of diplomatic ambiguities.

In the foreign policy establishment Vietnam split in the late 1960s, Vance sided with the Clark Clifford wing that cautioned President Johnson in March 1968

against another major war expansion. But Vance followed the pack even then. According to the *Pentagon Papers*, just the previous autumn Vance had approved Johnson's escalation of the air war, while the more maverick George Ball and Arthur Goldberg, then at the U.N., disagreed.

After the Tet offensive, which rendered a massive psychological setback to the U.S., the "wise men" advisers, including Vance, urged Johnson to slow down the escalation. The Pentagon got only 10,000 of 200,000 additional troops requested and Johnson gave his swan song six days later.

In this episode, Vance broke with the presidential tendency on Vietnam policy, but he did so as a safe "team player" in the company of a squadron of national security heavies. As veteran diplomat W. Averell Harriman said of him, "He gives loyalty, and therefore he gets it."

### ►New York law firm and Gulf & Western.

Between Vance's stints on the Washington "team," he practices law with the New York firm of Simpson and Thacher. One of its biggest clients is Gulf and Western Corp.—an interesting connection excluded from the major press accounts of Vance's nomination. Edwin Weisel Sr., another Simpson and Thacher partner, is on Gulf and Western's board of directors.

Vance's close ties to Gulf and Western through his law firm cast new light on his "troubleshooting mission" to the Dominican Republic in 1965. He was dispatched in the aftermath of the landing

## Transition to Carter starts to sour slightly

The President-elect's transition process—in its third week—is beginning to sour slightly. Important political events in the last few days have found Carter's pre-inaugural administration in limbo, unable to respond seriously to events that could profoundly affect the Carter term.

Big steel manufacturers were quick to take advantage of the ambiguity of executive power by raising prices 6 to 7 percent in what was almost universally seen as an unjustified and inflationary move. The price hikes come at a period of flat or even falling demand.

William E. Lilley, acting chief of the Ford administration's Council on Wage and Price Stability, stopped short of "jaw-boning" the steel industry—that is, directly urging the increases be rescinded.

The industry seemed most eager, however, to swoop down on Plains, Ga., for meetings with Carter that would generate sure headlines whatever the outcome.

Steel producers had nothing to lose. Carter would either find himself sanctioning the increases, or he could call for a rollback, which most observers thought would be promptly ignored. Carter turned down the offer.

On Dec. 4 Carter announced he would not seek authorization from Congress to impose wage and price controls. Said Carter, "The constant threat of wage and price controls is sometimes a stimulation for unwarranted increases in wages and prices." The statement was designed to reassure other industries and prevent further increases in basic commodities.

### ►Gloomy economic news.

Inflationary worries were accompanied by other gloomy economic news: a serious unemployment rate increase and a steady upward pressure on wholesale prices. The job picture prompted instant speculation that a tax cut of up to \$15 billion was a foregone conclusion. Carter insisted, however, the decision would not be made until January.

Carter resistance to the steel price increases may reflect some crystallization of the Democratic establishment's economic thinking for the Carter administration. The *New York Times*, tradition-

ally close to the Democrats, editorialized that lasting higher profits would not come through "quick-fix" price boosts. The administration should "get the national economy back on the track," the *Times* said, by stimulating more jobs to reactivate idle plant capacity. Greater volume of production and sales, rather than higher prices, would then improve the corporate profit picture.

Such an approach would fit the new administration's needs to move the economy ahead quickly and satisfy elements of the Democratic coalition with job expansion. Various types of tax breaks for industry, the *Times* editorial continued, should be used to create new jobs.

### ►Other developments.

In other transition developments:

•Victor Gotbaum, head of New York city's largest city workers union, said only a "federal solution" to alleviate the city's fiscal crisis, including the help Carter promised New York during the campaign, would get his union's support. Union pension funds have been a major purchaser of city emergency bonds that were floated to keep the city from outright bankruptcy.

•One form of federal aid to New York and other cities could be a partial takeover of welfare costs by Washington, according to Rep. Elliott L. Levitas (D-Ga.). Close to the Carter camp, Levitas said the administration would propose a uniform benefit program to ease the burden on cities and states.

•A one-time Carter crony, Georgia entrepreneur Erwin D. Rabhan is under investigation by two federal grand juries, the FBI, IRS and the organized crime section of the Justice department. Investigators are examining, according to the *Times*, whether Rabhan filed false tax returns, whether organized crime funds were used in his businesses and various other allegations. The probes could be embarrassing to the new president, whose relationship to Rabhan was so close, according to Rabhan, that "we used to sleep in the same bed."

—Tim Frasca

of American troops to squelch a perceived threat to American "interests" there. Richard J. Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies has described the American invasion as "undoubtedly the crudest example of the use of a political/military intervention to produce an economic model which was directly beneficial to U.S. corporations."

Gulf and Western is the largest foreign investor, largest landholder, largest taxpayer and largest exporter in the Dominican Republic outside of the Dominican government itself.

The *Washington Post* coyly mentioned the Dominican "1965 civil war" in a passing reference to Vance's mission. The *Times* didn't even mention Vance's much-heralded role in the Dominican events. (Vance, by the way, also sits on the board of the *Times*.)

A New York corporate researcher suggested the "intimate relationship" between Vance's law firm and Gulf and Western "could be influential in how he orients himself toward the Caribbean."

Carter's transition office had no comment on the conflict-of-interest question.

Vance also sits on the board of IBM, a major investor all over the world which is drawing criticism for its sizable holdings in South Africa. He is also a director of Pan American World Airways.

### ►A few new directions.

Depending on the amount of influence he wields in the incoming administration, Vance may move American foreign policy in a few new directions—well within the context of "continuity" and "bipartisan

consensus" that characterize today's policy, however.

He is known to favor arms reductions—both Vance and Carter promised "aggressive" attention to SALT, perhaps eyeing defense budget savings—and restraint on U.S. arms sales abroad.

Vance emerges as a perfect amalgam of Carter-era virtues: solidly Eastern establishment, yet not through birthright; flexibly liberal, but not ideological; no rubber-stamp for special military/industrial interests, while closely tied to major corporations; and connected through his law firm to the new "sunshine belt" industries of the South and Southwest, the fastest-growing segment of U.S. capitalism.

Vance is "a superb technocrat" who can move from war planner to peace negotiator "without even gaining a clearcut reputation as either a hawk or a dove," mused the *Times* on the appointment. Yet who is neutral in war? In the *Pentagon Papers*, Vance's role is camouflaged, yet unmistakably present: "Each operation [bombing attack]...had to be approved in advance by Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance for Secretary McNamara" reads one section.

Daniel Ellsberg, another "superb technocrat" with "high moral sensibilities" who the *Times* said later lost his "broad acceptability within the foreign policy establishment," commented on the bureaucrat's moral role at the end of his book *Papers on the War*. He quoted Third Reich architect Albert Speer: "My moral failure is not a matter of this item and that; it resides in my active association with the whole course of events." ■



# IN THE WORLD

## IN SHORT

### Irish couple not to be hanged

Dublin, Ireland. A husband and wife sentenced to death for murdering a policeman were saved from the gallows Dec. 9 by the Irish Republic's Supreme Court.

Noel Murray, 26, and Marie Murray, 27, were condemned last June to hang for the murder of an off-duty police officer who was shot after a Dublin bank robbery.

The five judges found Noel guilty of non-capital murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment. A three-two decision ordered a retrial for Marie on the original capital murder charge.

—Reuter

### Italians consider abortion

Rome. Two parliamentary committees have approved the text of an abortion reform bill which would legalize abortion on non-medical grounds for the first time in Roman Catholic Italy.

The Christian Democrats, the largest party, and the Radicals, the smallest, both opposed the draft.

Debate is scheduled for Dec. 13 when the two dissenting parties are expected to put forward many amendments—the Radicals to make abortion even easier to obtain and the ruling Christian Democrats to make it more difficult.

—Reuter

### U.S. harasses Iranian paper

Once-secret State Department cables indicate the U.S. has been working unsuccessfully with the Shah of Iran to close down an American newspaper highly critical of the shah.

The newspaper, the *Iran Free Press*, is published by Nasser Afshar, an American citizen who emigrated from Iran.

Columnist Jack Anderson has released confidential department messages between Washington and U.S. Ambassador Richard Helms in Tehran that reveal American officials regarded the *Press* as a "scurrilous publication" and that they had launched an extensive background check of the paper and of Afshar personally.

—Zodiac News Service

### Vietnamese resettled

Moscow. More than 600,000 Vietnamese who were unemployed in Saigon when the city fell to Communist-led forces last year have resettled in other provinces, Pravda reported Dec. 7.

The Soviet party daily said work and housing were being found for them in farming areas where land formerly allowed to go to waste was being cultivated.

Two Pravda correspondents who visited Vietnam reported changes in Ho Chi Minh city included disappearance of street market, which once teemed with speculators and traders in stolen goods.

—Reuter

# Deportation for Philip Agee?

*CIA-inspired deportation move may disrupt British Labor party—intentionally, sources say.*

By Rodney Larson

Los Angeles. British Home Secretary Merlyn Rees' decision to deport former CIA officer Philip Agee is causing serious problems for the Labor party.

Indications are the CIA intended precisely that. This conclusion is taking hold among close associates of Agee and others.

In a statement to the House of Commons, Rees said the notices of intention to deport Agee and American journalist Mark Hosenball were based on information that Agee "had maintained regular contacts harmful to the security of the United Kingdom with foreign intelligence officers, had been and continued to be involved in disseminating information harmful to the security of the United Kingdom and had aided and counseled others in obtaining information for public action which could be harmful to the security of the United Kingdom."

None of these charges is true, Agee told *In These Times* last week. But the issues Rees has raised will cause serious embarrassment and will disrupt the Labor party's precarious 1-vote margin in Commons.

Since Rees filed his notice, Agee has collected more than 150 signatures on a petition from members of Parliament asking for reconsideration of the decision. Most are from Laborites (particularly left-wingers who voted for Michael Foot against Prime Minister James Callaghan last April), but some are from Liberals and even some Conservatives.

►"In a terrific way."

In the *In These Times* interview, Agee said:

"The Labor party has responded in a terrific way. Just this afternoon, for example, the national executive committee, which is the highest body of the Labor party, voted to send a delegation of protest to the home secretary and to ask him to reconsider the decision. There are M.P.'s who are refusing to vote for the government because of this. Other M.P.s are even going to vote against the government, so they say.

"The Labor candidate for Cambridge, in a by-election now going on, just yesterday retracted his invitation to the home secretary, who is expelling me, to go and speak in behalf of his campaign.

"In some trade unions there is already a move afoot to go on partial strikes in protest, to send delegations and telegrams and to join the general campaign to try and get reconsideration."

This is all dangerous for a government that maintains its position by a 1-vote majority. The National Council on Civil Liberties, immigrant groups from the West Indies and the National Union of Journalists have already joined formally the effort to have the deportation stopped. Two weeks ago, a large number of M.P.'s, some labor officials and a large crowd participated in meetings at Westminster to help plan a strategy to challenge the government's decision.

If the government were planning a quick, quiet deportation for Hosenball and Agee, it has miscalculated. Prominent Laborites in Commons do not believe Rees' charges.

After Rees had issued his press statements, Labor M.P. Judith Hart raised the issue with the speaker.

►"The real reasons."

When Rees was asked to appear she said, "Perhaps now we can find out the real reasons why this action has been taken. I'm very concerned about the way the whole business has been handled."



Philip Agee: Back out into the cold?

Rees merely repeated points made in press statements and in letters to Agee and Hosenball, causing speculation that American pressure, the forthcoming negotiations over the \$3.9 billion loan that Britain needs from the International Monetary Fund and the trip made to Britain by U.S. Treasury Secretary William S. Simon were responsible for the orders.

The government learned Nov. 24 just how tough terms will be for Britain's urgently needed IMF credit and observers say this could cause a major political storm between the government and Labor's left wing.

U.S. leaders have never been sanguine about Labor's ability to impose "austerity" cuts, especially in welfare and unemployment benefits, that they want as a loan precondition.

Because of this, some believe Rees may have fallen for a skillful ploy on the CIA's part.

"There is a new CIA chief of station over here," Agee pointed out, "named Edward Proctor, who is a former deputy director of intelligence—a very high-ranking man in the CIA. When the new home secretary came into office [in September] he didn't have a very good feel for the job before he signed these orders."

Agee has always been careful not to involve himself in matters affecting British security services. He and his supporters state unequivocally that the charges are false.

►"Without particulars."

"I am going to have to defend myself against them without any of the particulars involved," he said.

"I will have to lay out very clearly every single contact I have had with any foreigners here or members of a foreign mission. There have not been many. I have never known about British operations, even when I was in the CIA. I have done nothing recently that I haven't been doing since I came to Britain four years ago."

They think Rees has relied on false information for the charges. The Home Office has a regular liaison arrangement with the CIA and there is a strong possibility of some background scheming by the latter.

Although Agee and Hosenball do not have a statutory right to appeal the deportation order per se they do have an administrative right to make representations to an "advisory panel" chaired by Sir Bilton. Rees does not have to accept recommendations by this panel, but it does give Agee time and an opportunity to make his case and garner more support.

If Agee were to lose there he still has a statutory right to appeal the country of destination, which would allow another

opportunity for Agee (and Hosenball) to make a case to the public. The BBC and the newspapers are treating the issue as a major controversy, so this will not be difficult.

A deep undercurrent of concern already exists in England over CIA influence in British affairs.

In 1975, 34 members of Commons (all Labor) signed a motion in Parliament protesting the presence of a large CIA station in London that was using the U.S. State Department for cover.

In 1973 there were charges that the station chief, a top CIA official named Cord Meyer Jr., had been assigned to Britain with the unions and British leftists as his major target. This was related to U.S. charges that the 1972 miners' union strike, and some others, had crippled the energy and industrial policies of the Conservative government then in power.

Meyer was not just the ordinary station chief. He was formerly head of the CIA's International Organizations Division and an architect of the CIA's world programs in labor, political, student and journalistic groups.

►Braden's quote.

Fears of CIA influence in internal affairs were raised again when, in 1975, there was a nationwide referendum on British entry into the European Common Market. The *London Sunday Times* and others carried stories quoting Tom Braden, a former CIA official, to the effect that the Common Market had always been a CIA priority and that CIA influence and money had been used to promote this since the 1940s. Braden worked in the same operations as Meyer in the CIA.

The current case has raised all these issues again and in a way that will guarantee the utmost disruption. Agee said the deportation idea did not come from regular Labor party cabinet officers.

"I think it's been through the CIA people and the American embassy here, and possibly in Washington at that level, on the British security services and some top-level government politicians," he told *In These Times*.

Agee and Hosenball are not without friends. Agee said they "are linking up with various groups in Europe and with people in the U.S. and in Canada."

The address of the Agee/Hosenball Defense Committee is 186 Kings Cross Road, London.

Rodney Larson is a free-lance writer and associate of Transnational Features Service. Larson, a former trade union official, also works with Research Associates International, a nonprofit center for studies on multinationals and the international trade union movement.



# New Quebec rulers cautious on separation

By George Szanto

Montreal, Que. Though the political transformation here following the Parti Quebecois' recent victory is complex, a number of its parts are clear.

The PQ won the election all right—70 seats of 110; the previous Liberal government held 102 seats.

But the Pequistes (PQ members) played down all talk of separatism, making the Liberals attacking separatism look like unhappy drunks beating a dead horse. Claude Morin, the PQ strategy planner, was the prime mover in the decision to separate election issues from the independence question. As a result, the PQ won primarily on local issues, centered around six years of real and imagined Liberal failures.

Separation is to be carefully discussed and debated before a referendum of whatever kind. Any referendum is at least two years in the future, if one is to come at all.

There are good reasons for hesitancy on the part of Morin and party leader Rene Levesque. The PQ received 41 percent of the vote. Of this, only a quarter, 11 percent of all Quebec voters, said in a poll before the election that they wished Quebec to become a separate state.

Plans are certainly being made to move Quebec toward a referendum situation. Yet there is little separatist rhetoric coming from the party: This week Levesque and the other provincial premiers will be bargaining with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau mainly about finance-sharing.

## ► May be progressive.

The new Quebec government may be progressive: Though a few extremists have been elected, there is little likelihood it will be radical. For the most part its membership comes from service professions—social work, union organizing, journalism, teaching (30 of the 70 are or have been teachers), criminology, economics, hospital service and law. Lawyers in the Liberal administration practiced primarily business and criminal law. The preponderance of PQ lawyers have represented the trade unions or been law teachers. Less than 10 percent of the new government has been associated with business, as compared to 55 percent of the Liberal government.

The age range of the Pequiste government is 26 to 56. Thirty-three members are in their twenties and thirties. The average age, pulled up by the 54-year-old Levesque, is under 50. And one of the younger, Jean Alfred, Haitian-born, who represents Papineau (a district across the river from Ottawa), is the first black to sit in the Quebec National Assembly.

The 24-person cabinet includes an eight-minister priority committee, five members of which will have no day-to-day administrative duties and, therefore, according to Levesque, will be able to "devote all their time to establishment of priorities, to piloting major reforms and to the coordination of dossiers affecting more than one department."

Six of the eight priority committee ministers are from districts in the Montreal area, as are 15 of 24 cabinet members. Montreal is generally regarded as the center of the PQ's most progressive support.

The new government's ideology is culturally committed to francophone ethnic consciousness. Economically its platform is social democratic in nature.

The PQ takes as its favorite rhetorical model the social democracy of Sweden, rejecting out of hand all charges that it has state socialist intentions. As Industry and Commerce Minister Rodrigue Tremblay said several times in the past two weeks, the Pequiste government has no intention of expropriating private industries. Quite the opposite, he claims.

One of its highest priorities is to decrease Quebec's 10.1 percent unemployment level.



## ► "Not socialist."

To this end Tremblay's office hopes to provide an economic climate for small and medium domestic business stimulation and for foreign corporate investment as well.

"The Parti Quebecois is not a socialist government," Tremblay has said. "There will not be widespread nationalization of industries and things like that.... There will not be any economic or financial nonsense in Quebec."

Tremblay intends to establish Montreal's new Mirabel International Airport as a free-trade area, the first such in Canada. Raw materials could be imported duty-free. When they become finished products, they would have to be exported directly to foreign markets. As director of economic studies at the University of Montreal, Tremblay and his department studied such possibilities and found them to be highly feasible.

In short, the PQ government's intention is, at least for the moment, to run Quebec as a province among provinces within Canada.

It is the question of ethnic nationalism, linked closely with national independence, that has had the most extreme responses in the anglophone world. Balkan states and African nations may come into existence or change their borders, but North America is a thing of permanence: Great fears are raised here when this once-absolute tenet is thrown into doubt.

Levesque's government will not likely initiate a referendum on separation without reasonable certainty of winning with a comfortable majority. The debate over this will, as he has promised, be extensive and would, if one can take his government at its word, grow out of considerable research on the economic, social, political and legal implications of separatism.

Levesque has asked Trudeau to initiate similar research so that the prime minister could eventually defend federation

with specific information rather than with the rhetoric of scare tactics.

## ► "Incapable of understanding."

There are forceful reasons for Levesque's recent victory, just as there were strong reasons for the PQ's creation. As the *Montreal Star* noted, "the Pequistes believed English Canada was incapable of understanding the sensitivities and aspirations of French Canada." The desire of many French Canadians to be "maitre chez nous" is founded in a centuries-old resentment, a subtle version of anti-colonialism. Only the Pequiste form is recent.

Anglophone insensitivity, sometimes near to blindness, helps explain Quebec's recent ethnic militance. Less explicit but equally present is the sense that Canadian federalism, especially under Trudeau, has become increasingly centralized, arbitrary, expensive and bureaucratic. Analysts of varying political persuasions have suggested Quebec would have fewer reasons for going its own way if Canada were to return to a decreasingly centralized government of the sort envisaged, they claim, by the fathers of confederation.

Long before a referendum on some form of independence—not necessarily separatism, perhaps only greater autonomy—becomes a public debate issue, election implications will be felt nationally.

Over half the Liberal strength in the Ottawa House of Commons comes from Quebec and Trudeau, of Montreal, has support problems. Many who, two years ago, voted Liberal in Quebec went PQ in the provincial elections.

One recalls a moment three or four years ago when the prime minister said if Levesque ever came to power in Quebec, he, Trudeau, would return to the province to do battle for federalism on the provincial front. As a recent letter from Toronto to the *Star* noted, in Quebec the real excitement is Quebec government:

"The rest of us have had to put up with the dregs that went to Ottawa."

The election outcome is a result of movements for an increased cultural and economic humanism in Quebec. This humanism, striving toward the ideal of individual security, seems to be consistent with Quebec remaining an enclosed, predominantly French-speaking unit within the arbitrarily-bounded (though historically created) geographic nation of Canada.

## ► Reshuffling of priorities.

There will be considerable reshuffling of priorities, financial and ethnic, in Quebec. Certain anglophone Quebecers who have had inordinate control over the province's cultural and economic life will find themselves in a less-flexible position, and may indeed opt to leave Quebec. But the general economic fear implicit in middle-class anglophone reaction is unjustified.

In the near future there will be no socialism in Quebec, only greater control of corporate capitalism. Barring vast federal blunders, there is little chance of separation. But there will be increased potential for cultural autonomy.

Some increased economic autonomy too may be in the offing. With such autonomy, ever-fewer Quebec francophones would opt for even the minimal economic turmoil that might result from separation.

Nonetheless there are a few radical Pequistes who are urging total separation and soon. Their role relative to a modified or long-postponed referendum is not yet clear.

For some time to come, however, although more French will be spoken in traditional anglophone quarters and a certain amount of francophone autonomy over daily life may come into being, there will be little basic change in Quebec.

George Szanto teaches comparative literature at McGill University, has written a book about Kafka, and is a playwright.



# U.S. wages attract foreign investment

By Joanne Barkan

Waterford, Conn. Last May, the Fugate Bank published Japan's first comprehensive guide to investing in the U.S. This little news item is just a sign of an important new trend: In the last several years a rapidly increasing number of foreign corporations have been setting up U.S. plants and revitalizing those they already own.

There are several reasons for this—the devaluation of the dollar, the uncertain European political situation as opposed to the “favorable” U.S. business climate—but the most interesting and worthy of close examination is that U.S. labor has recently become competitive in the international market.

Foreign investment in the U.S. today totals more than \$25 billion and is 18 percent of all manufacturing investment.

Moreover, foreign investment in manufacturing in the first half of 1976 increased 60 percent over 1975. About half this money is going into building and operating factories as opposed to buying shares in companies.

## ►Canada first.

The capital inflow comes from Canada, Britain, West Germany, Japan and France, in that order. Some foreign corporations building plants or manufacturing in the U.S. are Hoechst A G, which has 16 fiber plants here; Hurlerth K G, which builds textile machinery in South Carolina; Keiper, which makes automobile parts; Volkswagen, which will be operating in New Stanton, Pa.; Sony, in San Diego and Alabama; Kawasaki, which makes motorcycles in Nebraska; Toyota; Nissan; Volvo; Michelin; and Montedison.

The economic activity of Western Europe and Japan differs from that of OPEC countries, by the way. The latter are not interested in running plants, but rather are investing in profitable businesses with the aim of getting their money out quickly and using it at home.

Two dollar devaluations since 1971 certainly have made imports to the U.S. more expensive and is a factor pushing foreign enterprises to build U.S. plants and to sell directly instead of exporting.

The Volkswagen case is a good example.

In 1971, Volkswagen sold 570,000 cars in the U.S., which represented 6.1 percent of all car sales here. Between 1970 and 1975, the dollar declined 48 percent in terms of the mark and the price of Volkswagens in the U.S. skyrocketed. In 1975, VW sold only 270,000 cars in the U.S. and in 1976 the figure will probably plummet to 180,000—only 2.2 percent of the U.S. automobile market.

Dollar devaluations alone, however, would not be enough to make U.S. production profitable for foreign firms. As long as U.S. labor cost a great deal more than European or Japanese labor, U.S. production was not a solution.

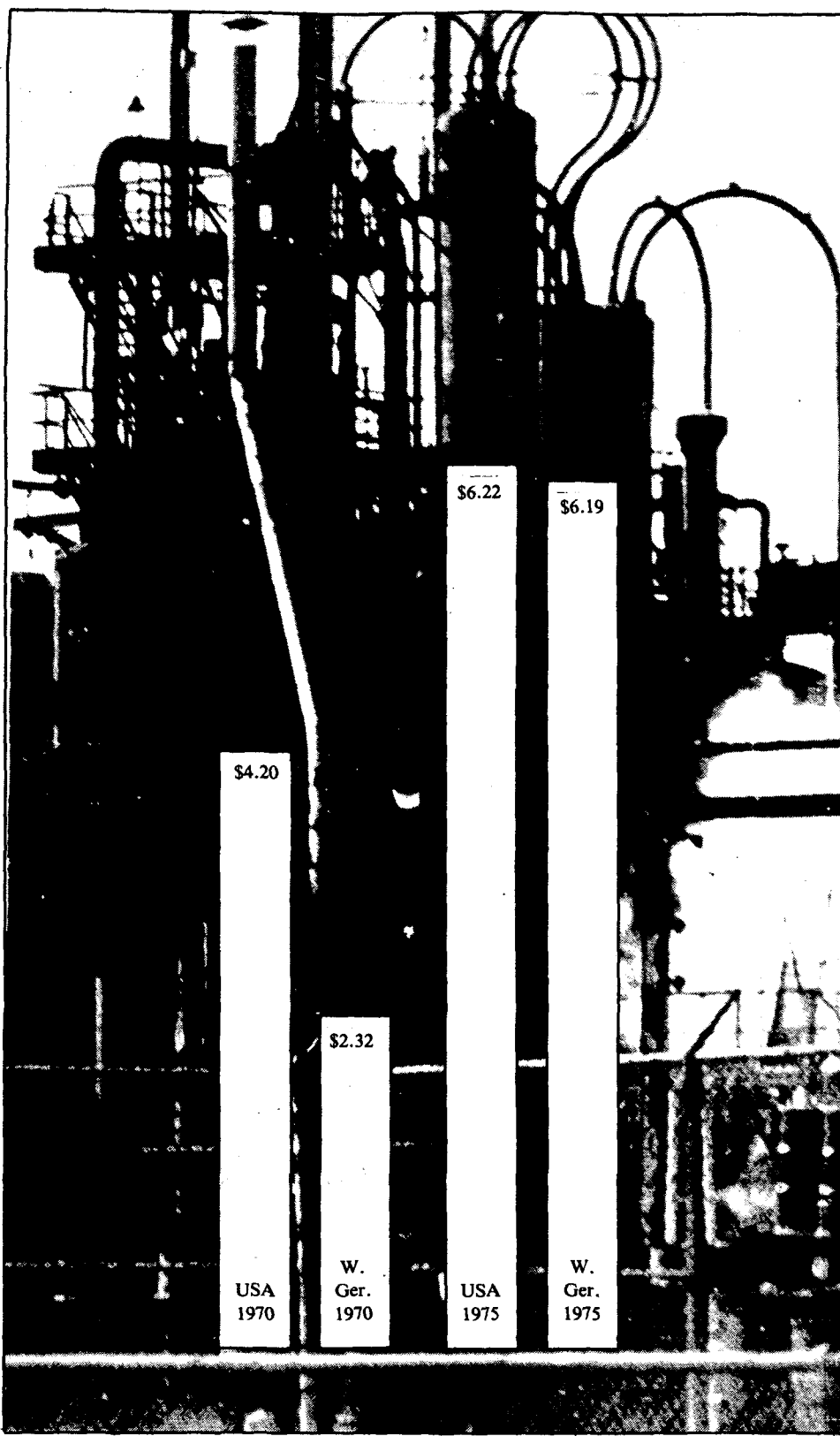
## ►The key factor.

The key factor in attracting foreign investment to the U.S.—yes—is the slower rate of increase in labor costs.

Between 1970 and 1975 respective increases in unit labor costs (expressed in local currency) were 34 percent in the U.S., 99 in Japan, 44 in West Germany, 76 in France, 112 in Italy and 91 in Britain.

Expressed in dollars these increases are 34 percent in the U.S., 141 in Japan, 114 in West Germany, 127 in France, 104 in Italy and 77 in Britain.

In 1970 the average hourly wage was \$4.20 (including fringe benefits) in the U.S. and \$2.32 in West Germany. By 1975 U.S. workers were earning \$6.22, but wages in West Germany had jumped to \$6.19.



Relative wages of American and West German workers, 1970 and 1975.

In January a U.S. autoworker was making \$10.75 an hour (including fringe benefits); a Volkswagen worker was taking home \$8.38 an hour, but also received six weeks' vacation at 150 percent pay.

Thus for the first time since World War II, U.S. labor costs are competitive with those of Western Europe and Japan and are no longer a deterrent to foreign investors who can produce directly here for this market.

## ►Rising slowly.

Unit labor costs have been rising relatively slowly in the U.S. for two reasons. First, since the recovery began about a year and a half ago, there has been a significant productivity increase. Second, the working class has made only limited wage gains in the past year, gains that are smaller than had been anticipated.

John Kendrick, chief Commerce Department economist, put it clearly:

"There's no question that productivity increases are coming in larger in this stage of the business cycle than they have in the past—even with the recent slowdown in economic growth. And compensation [wages] trends also appear surprisingly good."

That productivity increased since the so-called recovery began is not surprising in itself. At the end of a recession, production typically grows far more rapidly than employment. Capitalists use workers and facilities to full capacity rather than in-

crease costs by hiring more workers. Speedups and overtime are typical during this phase. Under normal circumstances, as a recovery continues, capitalists begin to hire less-skilled workers and use marginal facilities, thus slowing down productivity gains.

After this last crisis, however, the productivity increase of American workers was particularly high—about 5 percent this year as compared to a 2.1 percent average since 1960—and it has lasted longer than expected. This indicates, according to Jerome A. Mark, the Labor Department productivity expert, the depth and severity of the last crisis.

The American bourgeoisie expects slow economic growth and is rehiring slowly. Slow expansion of the work force, continued high unemployment (7.9 percent officially) and idle capacity in many industries mean that high productivity gains could well continue.

## ►Its classical role.

At the same time, moderate wage increases have helped to keep U.S. labor costs down. Over the last year and a half, the reserve army of unemployed has played its classical role well: Wage settlements have been rather low.

The bourgeoisie is explicit about this: "Because unemployment has been rising steadily over the past few years and inflation has been recently slowing, we seem to be entering a period in which unemployment exerts a dampening force

on the price of labor," says economist Edward S. Hyman Jr. of Cyrus J. Lawrence Inc.

Although some major unions negotiated contracts recently, hourly wages grew only 7 percent in the non-farm private sector and only 4.7 percent in the manufacturing sector during the third quarter of 1976.

A look at the employment situation explains why: Manufacturing employment peaked at 20.6 million workers at the end of 1973 and then fell to 18.4 million during the recession. Since the recovery began, production has increased and has surpassed the pre-crisis peak, but employment has climbed to only 19.4 million. Unit labor costs in durable-goods manufacturing have actually declined over the last six months.

Given the extremely high unemployment level and the projection of very slow labor force expansion, it seems the industrial reserve army will continue to exert pressure to keep wages down.

## ►Some regions more attractive.

If the U.S. has become an attractive place for foreign investment, it is also true that some regions are more attractive than others. The South and Southwest, where wages are lower and where few workers are unionized, offer foreign capitalists the best possibilities for profit maximization. And in fact, a good number of foreign-owned U.S. plants being built are located in these regions.

Whether the South and Southwest will long remain "unionized" is still to be seen. Major union leaders will probably continue to pressure for repeal of section 14(B) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This so-called right-to-work clause allows each state to decide whether workers at a unionized workplace are obliged to join the union and it is used by many southern states to weaken or eliminate unions.

In general, the bourgeoisie looks favorably on growing foreign investment here. From its point of view, the overall economic impact is positive.

The General Accounting Office, an agency of Congress, reported that foreign capital in South Carolina alone was responsible for 19,750 new jobs, 40,000 new residents, \$70 million in retail sales and \$122 to \$172 million in additional personal income.

Western European and Japanese capital may provide the economic stimulus the U.S. bourgeoisie has been looking for but has been unwilling to undertake itself. The ruling class' delight at having foreign investors is shown by the way states compete for investments, offering low-cost loans, tax abatements, relaxation of environmental standards and so on to foreign investors. Pennsylvania, for example, gave Volkswagen nearly \$100 million in loans and grants in exchange for having the new plant located within its borders.

The impact of all this in the U.S. and the other advanced capitalist countries might well be significant. If the South and Southwest, which already have the fastest-expanding economies in the U.S. continue to receive great amounts of foreign investment, this could put other regions at an economic disadvantage and in a politically subordinate position and could divide even further the American working class.

The new competitive position of U.S. labor in the international market could also be used by national bourgeoisies of Western Europe—and by the U.S. and West Germany in their capacity of leaders of the advanced capitalist bloc—as further economic blackmail to control labor costs in Western Europe and stifle working-class movements there.

Joanne Barkan, a free-lance writer and an editor, contributes regularly on political economy to *Il Manifesto*, the daily newspaper of PDUP, a new left party in Italy.



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## SPECIAL SECTION LABOR

*This 4-page section on Organizing the Unorganized is Part 3 of a 4-part series on the labor movement.*



# You gotta go out and join the union

By David Moberg  
National Staff Writer

When Bessie Gee got her job at General Motors' new Guide Lamp factory in Monroe, La., she had already worked for low pay in several factories, alternating with spells of unemployment. Guide Lamp paid \$4.71 an hour. Black, single and 30 years old, Gee had been making \$2.10 when lucky. Her best wages had been \$3 an hour at a textile plant in Arkansas, where a large number of workers were in a union. Gee didn't have to join since Arkansas is a right-to-work state, and she didn't.

Gee was one of the first of some 200 blacks—in a workforce of 640—to be hired at Guide Lamp. She was also one of the first to show up at a small meeting with an organizer from the United Auto Workers.

"After the UAW came down, I attended all the meetings and I learned about the union," Gee says. "I signed the card the first meeting, but it was later that I understood the union. I like what they represented—job security, seniority."

The original nine-member, all-black group eventually expanded to an organizing committee of 85 blacks and whites. All of them had gone through a thorough training period to counter the effects of an equally sophisticated antiunion program conducted by the corporation.

What finally turned Gee into one of the most determined members of the official in-plant organizing committee wasn't simply the benefits she felt she needed.

"The very most impressive reason I have seen so far," she says, "was this film they showed. It was from the time when the union was trying to organize the General Motors plants." Her voice rises with strong feeling as she talks about the film record of the sitdown strikes of the thirties. "Men lost their lives. Women and children were cold, hungry. Women—wives and sisters—were behind their husbands and brothers. If we didn't unionize, these people would otherwise have died in vain. I just had to sign my card. People have died for this, and I want to be part of it."

### ►The heart of unionism.

The drama of workers forming a union has always been the romantic heart of the labor movement. The task of "organizing the unorganized" has not only been a way of bringing in new bodies. It has also been a way of spreading the ideas and sentiments of unionism, of making unions more representative of the working class as a whole and of keeping alive a sense of mission in the established unions.

With some healthy exceptions, labor's heart has suffered from hardening of the arteries in the postwar period. Although organizing has never stopped, the pace has not kept up with the expanding workforce. That has been most true in the fastest-growing occupations—clerical, service, sales and professional workers.

There are some exceptions here—teachers, government employees, hospital workers—where organizing has dramati-

cally spurred forward in the past decade. New organizing has also advanced among very poor workers—farmworkers, sanitation workers, service workers.

Union organizing has also not kept pace with the shift south of American industry. The problem is not only with shops—such as textiles—that abandoned the Northeast for areas of low wages, large rural labor pools, pro-business laws and weak unions, but also with many of the new southern boom industries which actively resist unionization.

### ►Tough challenge to organizers.

Gee's Guide Lamp plant is a good example of the problems union organizers face. G.M. shut its plant in Anderson, Ind., where wages were considerably higher, and recruited a new work force, mainly from among people from farms and small towns—nearly 40 percent women—who rarely had been touched by the labor movement. G.M. may have been paying \$2.20 an hour less than it was up north, but wages were still double what most other area factories paid.

G.M. also took special precautions to keep only those who were suitably grateful for the job and its pay.

Carlton Horner, the UAW organizer who came to Monroe a year ago to organize the plant, tells how G.M. started "a very thorough indoctrination program with employees even before they're put on the payroll to see if they have union sympathies."

According to Horner, G.M. hired a psychologist from the local university to set

up a two- to six-week program that emphasized how good wages and benefits were, the necessity of G.M. being competitive and the possibility that the company would pick up its factory and leave if it had any trouble.

"They're gonna run out of places to go," Horner joked, but workers were scared. "I'd go out on the parking lot, and as soon as I identified myself as a union organizer, the people went into a state of shock and headed for the personnel department."

One of his first sympathetic contacts was quickly promoted to supervision. Every Monday morning workers were called to a plantwide meeting. Supervisors told workers, according to Horner, "We took you out of the cotton fields and put shoes on you and now you turn on us."

As production picked up, however, the "honeymoon" period at the new plant stopped. Workers were disciplined for absences and latenesses.

"The true facts of life were coming out," Horner says. "Now the company would organize people for the union."

Black workers had taken the first steps toward the union, but early in the drive blacks and whites separately suggested to Horner that he should mount separate campaigns to win a union.

"I said we are going to have one organizing drive," Horner says. "A company loves to play off black against white, divide and conquer. We're going to have some of the most harmonious biracial

*Continued next page*



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SPECIAL SECTION

## LABOR



## Organizing

Continued from page 11

meetings Monroe has ever had—and that's the heart of Ku Klux Klan territory. We have some people who have trouble saying 'Negro' or 'black,' but they'll get it out. The entire community will benefit from this. The same progress will be made in organizing southern workers in the next 10 to 12 years as took place with civil rights."

## ►Fear is the main obstacle.

Fear and lack of knowledge about unions—made worse by antiunion propaganda—were the main blocks to organizing in Monroe, Horner says.

"I was so scared myself," Gee recalls about the day she put on her UAW pin and walked into the plant as an organizing committee member. "Don't think for a minute I'm not scared. I'm scared to death. But I'm not the person who puts a load on somebody else's back. This is what I believe in and I'm going to stick with it."

The Dec. 22 certification election at the Monroe plant will also be a test of the recently won commitment from G.M. to remain neutral in UAW organizing drives. The union lost two recent elections in Clinton, Miss., and one in Fitzgerald, Ga., where G.M. strongly opposed the union.

Horner says, however, the problem in those cases was not company opposition as much as that the union rushed and treated organizing mechanically, with inadequate attention to educating workers.

"The company didn't beat the union," he says, "the union beat itself."

## ►Held up by the law.

Basic organizing mechanics are standard, but there are drastically different styles. A few disgruntled workers contact a union or, less frequently, are approached by an organizer. A committee is formed, cards authorizing the union as representative are signed and if the workplace is covered by the National Labor Relations Act (or a similar law), elections are held to certify the union. Less frequently, workers strike for recognition or employers check union cards that have been signed to verify that a majority backs the union.

Many large groups of workers—farm workers and public employees in different parts of the country are the best known—are not covered by laws that guarantee the right to collective bargaining. Usually that makes organizing more difficult.

"Once a state gets a collective bargaining law and we get on the ballot, we do very well," Don McClure, a State, County and Municipal Employee union (AFSCME) representative, says. "Where there is no bargaining law, we don't do well."

Workers in non-profit private hospitals were included under the NLRB in 1974 and several unions plunged into the organizing. University organizing sped up following a similar 1970 ruling. A state law to the same effect helped District 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Employees union succeed in its New York drive in the late sixties.

NLRB coverage not only provides a procedure for establishing the union and some very limited legal protection against firing, it also gives unionizing an air of legitimacy—unionism as Americanism, a pitch made by many unions.

Despite all this, a few organizers have felt that in recent years NLRB coverage has simply given the employer more opportunities to procrastinate.

## ►Presidential appointments shape NLRB.

Presidential appointments shape the board, which interprets the maze of laws in ways that can speed or retard organizing. During the last eight years the NLRB has made union work difficult with delays, admission of picayune employer challenges, narrow rulings on who is covered by the law and determinations about who is eligible to vote in an election that often swung the balloting against the union.

"It's the time element," Horner says. "The corporations know that when a union wins an election it can challenge the election on the flimsiest grounds and delay a contract for two years. As it drags on, the company tries to discourage workers about the union. Then there's turnover and layoffs. By the time they get around to negotiating half the people the union organized aren't there any longer."

In recent years there has been a deluge of training programs, books and special consulting services for managements that want to stop a union.

"They use sophisticated techniques when that's indicated," Allan Kissler, AFL-CIO director of organization and field services, says. "They use crude means when the 'urbane' methods don't seem to work."

The worst that can happen to a company that fires someone for organizing—usually under cover of another charge, such as bad workmanship or absenteeism—is that a couple of years later the NLRB will order it to rehire the worker with back pay. In the meantime, the loss of key leaders and the fear spread among the rest of the workers is often enough to break an organizing drive.

## ►Management attacks are standardized.

Management attacks on the unions are so standardized that manuals provide sample speeches to be given to workers the day before elections. (Blanks are left for the union name.) First, companies stress that a union isn't really needed. Often they quickly raise wages, make promotions, ease up on discipline and begin having heart-to-heart chats with workers.

"We can virtually guarantee a wage increase for hospital workers by announcing we're going into an area to organize," Moe Foner, executive secretary of the Hospital and Health Care union, says. At the same time, they might put the squeeze on leaders, looking for an excuse to fire or transfer them.

There are tributes to the friendly family atmosphere at work and the undesirability of having "outsiders" stir up tension and conflict. Managers attack union dues, the prospect of having another boss, lack of democracy in the union, the possibility of having strikes and the ineffectiveness of unions.

A sample paragraph from a letter to an employee gives the tone: "I know the union has made a lot of statements about what you can expect from them. Such statements must be considered as just so much sales talk. The union does not pay your wages now and certainly won't in the future. The union doesn't sign your pay check, but it certainly will share in all your future pay checks if you surrender your working freedom to them."

## ►Money and dedication.

Even a modest organizing effort is expensive. An organizer concentrating on light-manufacturing shops with 150 to 250 workers says the cost of winning recognition ran between \$15,000 and \$80,000. AFSCME spent \$2 million in Pennsylvania before signing up a single member and another \$2 million in Florida before elections were held. Organizing a 2,000-member state college faculty group cost the AFT between \$50,000 and \$80,000 over two years.

Although some of the unions most actively organizing members—such as the Clothing and Textile Workers or the Teamsters—have big bankrolls, the Hospital Workers, the Farmworkers and other aggressive organizers work on shoestrings and dedication.

To meet the challenge of the people who write "How to Meet the Challenge of the Union Organizer" requires a sense of mission in organizing. Much of the organizing from established unions is fairly technocratic.

One militant union official complained about the approach of an organizer who said he always researched plants carefully before unionizing. "If it looked tough, he told me they walk away. But that's the people who need it. If you acted like that, the farmworkers would never have been organized."

"If [the organizer] looks at it as just going out and getting people to sign a card, he's not doing a hell of a good job," Ed Sadlowski, the rebel district director running for president of the Steelworkers, says. "People don't organize just to join a union. People organize around causes. There is no cause in the trade union movement today." To "organize the unorganized," Sadlowski argues, there's a need to "unionize the organized."

It was a feeling for the labor movement as a cause that won over Gee. Other social movements also quicken the pace of unionizing.

"The big growth in our union," AFSCME's McClure says, "came in the late sixties, and the big factor was black workers. First it was food service and other blue-collar workers. That was tied in with the civil rights struggle. Martin Luther King was killed in Memphis supporting sanitation workers on a strike of ours."

The United Farm Workers' efforts—often referred to as "la causa"—have inspired Spanish-speaking workers in other parts of the country. Recently, the United Electrical Workers (UE) in Chicago credited UFW inspiration as an aid in their organizing several shops of Latino workers away from the corrupt Toy and Doll Workers union.

The women's movement has also had an impact. Newspaper articles on women's rights alert women on the job, encouraging more assertiveness. "Feminism broke down some of that insane slave mentality many secretaries had," Service Employee organizer Mary Beth Guinen says with guarded optimism.

A snowball effect develops in organiz-

ing some industries. When public workers organized successfully and won victories in parts of the country, others felt like it was a good, legitimate idea.

In the three years since Illinois Gov. Dan Walker signed an executive order authorizing state workers to bargain collectively, 45,000 state employees have joined AFSCME, often in huge blocks of as many as 17,000 from one department. Workers in Illinois are clamoring to join AFSCME faster than the union can sign them up and negotiate contracts.

## ►An eye for quality and control.

Some of the most significant new labor causes and organizing drives have developed among human service workers, combining self-interest with concern for the quality and control of work. Nurses, teachers, day-care workers, hospital service workers and many government employees have unionized to raise their wages from literal poverty levels or to resist the erosion of income from inflation and public budget cutbacks.

In many instances they have also been motivated by a desire to do a better job for their clients. At times that has offered unique opportunities for alliances with



others in the community served and for introducing new clauses in contracts providing more worker control or autonomy. (At times, of course, the process backfires: the community appears to be the target and the contracts set up formal work rules that reduce individual responsibility and autonomy.)

Social workers at the Chicago School and Workshop for the Retarded protested the use of polyvinyl chloride in a workshop job. The agency refused to stop the high-profit job and fired the worker who was investigating PVC health hazards.

"When that person got fired," patient-care supervisor Janet Kolkebeck recalls, "we realized we had no recourse, and that's when we started thinking about a union."

Now they are trying to negotiate a contract that recognizes professional autonomy of the staff to prevent administrators from abruptly changing decisions on a patient's plan.

## ►Professionals as unionists.

There is still a strong residue of antagonism between professionalism and unionism, especially in health, education and human services. However, in a dramatic turnaround during recent years, increasing numbers of professionals have come to view unions not as a threat to their professional standing but as the only way to defend those prerogatives.

Working in large bureaucracies that are trying to cut corners to save money, professionals realize they can't even call their own tune. McClure thinks most public white-collar workers "are a little more militant than they were. The ones who really get angry are the professionals, who get reassigned without control. Also, if they're in a statewide strike and suddenly they find the labor movement backing them, they feel different about unions. One of the things most appealing to professionals is that we negotiate par-



ipation and input into any new program so that they will have a say over any other assignments."

With the huge layoffs of engineers in 1972, even that redoubt of management sympathizers began to unionize. "Many professionals, in teaching or engineering, for example, have come to believe they can best maintain and improve their professional standard through collective action," Kissler says.

For teachers in universities, winning more money and fringe benefits has been a major goal of unionizing, according to a Bureau of National Affairs survey. "The frustration with arbitrary orders and that tenure systems may vanish have sparked teacher organizing, which is spreading upwards from the ranks of community college teachers who have been the most organized."

"Many faculty fear that tenure may be abolished," says Margaret Schmid, president of a consolidated local of the American Federation of Teachers covering five state universities in Illinois. "The union is the only important force for keeping tenure. That's a main motivation for faculty to join the union."



Photo by Paul Sequeira

Professional associations, once antagonists of unions, now feed the currents of unionism too. The 200,000-member American Nursing Association, for example, has not only grown (in 1975 it organized more new white-collar workers than any other union or association), but it has also become much more like a union—bargaining with employers, signing contracts and striking.

The National Education Association even occasionally the stuffy American Association of University Professors have been forced by AFT success to act like unions. In over half of the successful college faculty organizing drives in recent years, a labor organization grew out of a previous professional association. "People do join—and don't."

People join unions now for a lot of the reasons they always have—money; benefits; job security; curbing management arbitrariness, unfairness, favoritism and discrimination; establishing regular channels of promotion and resolution of disputes.

Why don't people join unions? The first block is usually fear—fear of reprisals, fear of losing a job, fear of confronting authority.

Nearly as important is the unflattering image many people have of unions—corrupt, do-nothing, dictatorial and simply rain on the paycheck.

"The most common form of resistance," one organizer says, "comes from people who had family members who were in unions they didn't like or were themselves in unions they didn't like. And not because the unions were objectively corrupt. People don't see unions in this light as a political organization but as an economic, Santa Claus organizations. If they lose a grievance, they tend to blame the union. They say I was in a union and they couldn't do anything. They blame the union, not its lack of power." "People are just universally convinced

that unions are corrupt," Guinen says. "First you've got to convince them that you won't hurt them. You've got to convince them that you can be trusted. The first couple of meetings are involved in explaining the whole labor law on unions, about how they can decertify us. Strange, in order to get them to join, we have to show how they can fire us."

Workers want to be sure they can have union power behind them, not over them. Some organizing drives are stymied by doubts workers have that the union can or will really back them up. Cynicism flourishes with delays.

But it is generalized despair and disinterest that often raise the most opaque barrier to organizing. Passive, exhausted, distracted workers with little interest in their jobs are hard to organize.

"One problem," Guinen says, "is hard to identify. Maybe it's TV. People seem to be exhausted and are conditioned to easy stimulation. Yet union organizing takes a lot of discipline. It's not very exciting and it's very time-consuming. There are long delays and a lack of closure. It takes someone who's already ideologically committed to unions to stick with it."

#### ► A political fight.

The growing resistance of management to organizing brings out all the latent fears and doubts workers have about unions. But why the fight?

For a long time observers have seen unions not as a threat to capitalism, but as a means of making production more orderly and rational from the management viewpoint. The sophisticated capitalist supposedly knows how to use unions for the company's benefit.

One union activist at the G.M. Lordstown, Ohio, assembly plant expresses that view. "The corporation couldn't run this plant without the union," he says.

Yet companies still fight unionization. "I wasn't prepared for how hard companies are prepared to fight just for the ideological principle of not having a union," one organizer with four years experience in small factories comments. "Even when there would be little difference in cost or interference with production, they just don't want to deal with their workers as equals. Just seeing how contracts work in a union shop and seeing how little of a threat that often is, I have to find some kind of explanation for the resistance."

"On the whole, companies are better off with unions," he continues, "although with the rules they have less flexibility. Increased costs of unions frequently are returned in less turnover and a savings in training. They get something in return for having a union."

"They fight it far out of proportion to the danger to them. They take the same position as I do: it's a political issue. That's surprising. I thought I had an unusual idea. They're far more sophisticated than I ever expected. It's a long-term ideological position not to let workers' organizational development, and not because of any economic or immediate harm to the company."

Organizing is at its best when it, too, has a political perspective on the need for workers to have their organization and to gain experience in the direct exercise of power. Such a perspective ties in union organizing with broader community demands, the aims of other social movements and the needs of workers on the job that go beyond the big, traditional issues of money and benefits.

Without a sense of movement in labor and without complimentary political thrusts outside the unions, trade unions in the next few years will probably continue to grow mainly among public and human service workers, with a few inroads into some white-collar fields.

There are plenty of people like Gee, waiting to become part of a cause that represents not only their interests but larger ideals of justice.

"To me, she says, "I feel as though I'm part of something. I never had more than second-hand things before. Now I have a chance of having a new car, a home with a carpet—things I never dreamed of. This is your life, Bessie Gee—don't let it pass by. Time waits on no one."

## Busting unions at J.P. Stevens

By Bob McMahon

Durham, N.C. Joseph Williams is a textile worker and a minister of the Holiness Pentecostal Church. His religion, like that of many southern blacks, is closely linked to the pursuit of social justice.

"My uncle who's a minister says that as long as we have God we don't need a union, but I do believe it's God's will to help the poor. A lot of times I felt like giving up, but I asked God to give me courage."

In 1972 Williams was working for J.P. Stevens in Roanoke Rapids, N.C. A union began organizing there. Williams joined, and soon was actively recruiting others.

A few months later Williams was fired, allegedly for refusing to do work not related to his job. He charges it was retaliation for pro-union activity. The case is inching its way through the courts.

After his firing Williams found that no employer near Roanoke Rapids wanted him. He was out of work seven months. With his wife and three sons, he made it through the winter on food stamps.

He finally found a job in a garment plant 50 miles away at \$90 a week—\$40 less than he made at Stevens.

#### ► Out of a job.

In the summer of 1975, Williams went to Washington to testify before Congress, which was looking into reforms in the labor laws. When he returned, he was out of a job. He is looking for work.

The Williams case is a typical episode in a 13-year-battle between J.P. Stevens and the labor movement. Stevens has compiled an impressive record of labor law violations—286 workers fired for union activity have been ordered reinstated with back pay by the courts. Like Williams, many others have cases pending.

The battle began in 1963, when the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) decided that to win in the South, it would have to organize enough plants in one of the big textile chains to force the company to bargain.

#### ► J.P. Stevens chosen.

J.P. Stevens—with 81 plants the second largest in the U.S.—was chosen as the first target. Organizing efforts began at 25 plants located in North and South Carolina.

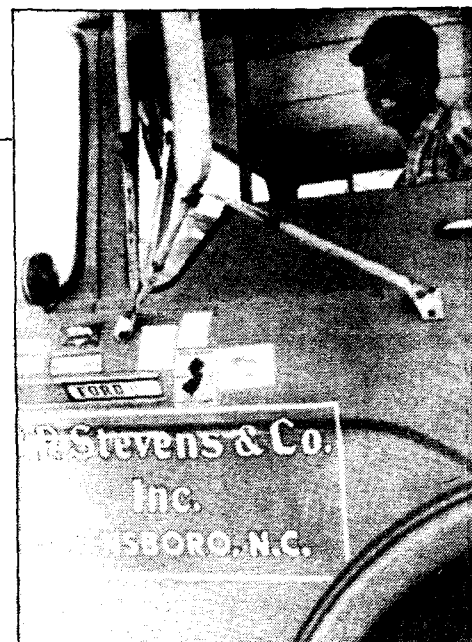
Within a year, 71 employees were fired for union activity. Other forms of harassment became common. Until a 1974 win in Roanoke Rapids, TWUA failed to get a clear victory in 10 elections held.

Illegal company tactics sent all of these losses into the courts. In a number of cases the NLRB found for the union and ordered new elections.

The core of the company's strategy has been to combine massive, continued illegal intimidation with the use of all possible legal tactics or appeals—however frivolous—to delay legal remedies.

The cases of the first workers fired in 1963 were not settled until 1969. The U.S. Court of Appeals ordered 71 reinstated with back pay. By that time, the organizing efforts in those plants were long dead and the workers and their families had endured years of poverty and blacklisting.

Reinstatement with back pay, the heaviest remedy offered under U.S. labor law, was far cheaper for Stevens than a union contract.



Southern Exposure

Firings were only part of the company's fear tactics. Before the organizing campaign, discipline had been relaxed in Stevens plants. Written reprimands or firings had been rare.

When union activity started, discipline tightened sharply. The NLRB found that "incidents or activity that had been previously overlooked now occasioned speedy and severe disciplinary action." Pro-union employees found themselves constantly watched by supervisors and harassed over minor or imaginary lapses.

#### ► Backed by local power structures.

The company also relied on backing from local power structures. In Statesboro, Ga., before a union representation election in 1969, school board members and other local notables phoned employees to warn that the plant would close if the union won.

The union lost in Statesboro, but the NLRB ordered the company to bargain with it there, ruling that a massive atmosphere of intimidation had made a fair election impossible.

The company followed its normal course, exhausting every appeal and finally sat down at the bargaining table in 1972.

Once there, it became clear that Stevens had decided to talk the union to death, making "offers" that refused to concede the minimum basics of a workable contract, such as arbitration of grievances.

Stevens never signed a contract in Statesboro. The same negotiating strategy has been followed in Roanoke Rapids in the two years since the union won the election there.

The NLRB is considering "failure to bargain in good faith" charges against Stevens. Whatever the outcome, the company can count on more years of legal delays before these are resolved. As always, it hopes to destroy the union organization in the time it gains.

#### ► Statesboro shutdown.

While the charade went on at the negotiating table, the company made good its threat to close the Statesboro plant. Stevens gradually shifted away orders and stopped putting in new equipment. In 1975 it shut down the plant, claiming it was "uneconomic" to run.

The union and the NLRB have challenged the Statesboro shutdown. A similar case against the Deering-Milliken company in 1956 remains unresolved, with no damages paid, after 20 years.

In Roanoke Rapids, before the 1974 election, the company posted photos of the victims of the "Zebra" killings—highly publicized San Francisco murders of white by blacks—in all its plants there.

Earlier, during the 1960s, white workers would be summoned to captive audience meetings in the plants to hear Stevens officials recount union support for civil rights and ask them "Do you want your money sent down to Alabama to help support Martin Luther King help get these niggers out of jail?"

Bob McMahon is a free lance journalist in North Carolina.



# Voters reject N.C. anti-union drive

By Joseph Hughes and Len Stanley

Chapel Hill, N.C. Opinion poll results flash on to the TV screen. In the background a voice of authority queries the curious North Carolina viewer: "Did you know that 83 percent of North Carolina citizens think that you shouldn't be forced to join a labor union in order to get a job?"

A handsome young businessman flashes onto the screen: "Hi, I'm Avery Nye and I'm running for Commissioner of Labor. I hope that you'll use your right to vote this year in order to protect your right to work."

North Carolina citizens are still recovering from one of the heaviest onslaughts of anti-union propaganda in recent memory during the past elections. In spite of an expensive state-wide media blitz, the target of the anti-union campaign, Democratic candidate for Labor Commissioner John C. Brooks carried the state by a comfortable 56 percent margin.

Brooks' opponent, Avery T. Nye, the Republican incumbent and president of his family-owned construction company, outspent Brooks in the campaign \$120,000 to \$10,000 and continually reminded voters "that the job of Labor Commissioner is too important to turn it over to a stooge of the CIO labor bosses simply because that stooge is a Democrat."

The main task of the Commissioner of Labor in North Carolina is the enforcement of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, which has been a source of constant controversy since its enactment in 1973.

The North Carolina Labor department's "voluntary compliance philosophy" and lax enforcement of OSHA standards have come under fire from several groups: the Carolina Brown Lung Assn., an organization of textile workers who have been stricken with the occupational disease byssinosis; Wilbur Hobby, president of the State AFL-CIO; North Carolina PIRG, a Nader research group and N-COSH, a group of health professionals committed to educating workers about occupational health hazards.

## ►Brown lung an issue.

Protection of textile workers from the spread of brown lung, caused by breathing cotton dust, was a major campaign issue.

At a forum sponsored by the Carolina Brown Lung Assn. in Greensboro, Brooks and Nye debated the issue, which affects more than 10,000 North Carolina workers in an industry employing over 40 percent of the state's manufacturing labor force.

Nye proudly stressed the department's emphasis on voluntary compliance with safety and health regulations.

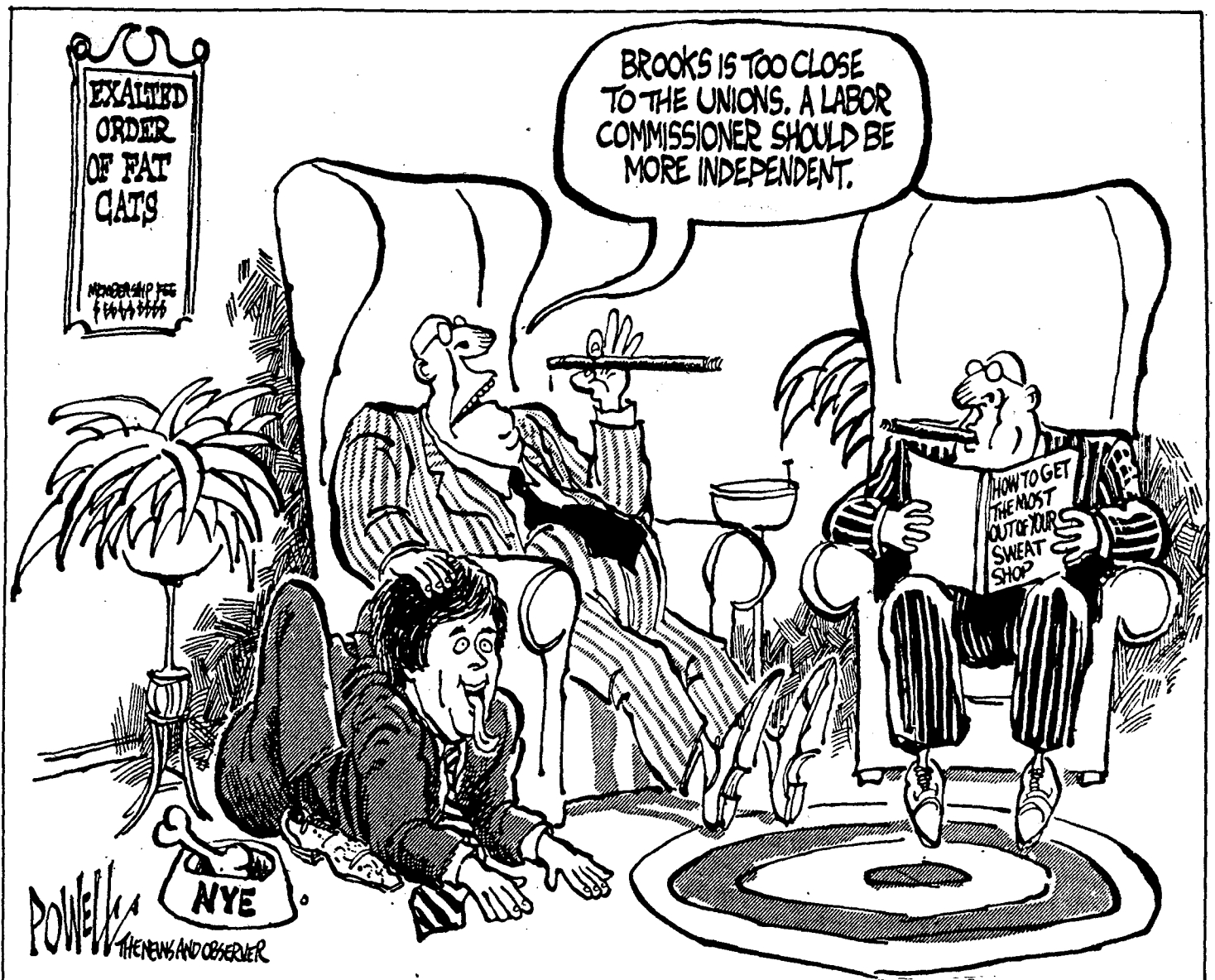
A young mill worker stood up and said, "There's a letter signed by you, Mr. Nye, on the bulletin board at Cone Mills. It congratulates the company for doing a good job on safety. The workers go by that board and laugh at it every day."

Brooks, on the other hand, committed himself to implement a far-reaching program to stop the spread of brown lung in the mills.

The campaign was used by conservative pro-business forces to launch a smear campaign against the state's meager organized labor movement, which accounts for only 7 percent of the state's workforce.

In an advertisement entitled "Hobby's Horses"—a reference to North Carolina AFL-CIO president Wilbur Hobby—the "Democrats and Independents Against Union Boss Control in North Carolina" attacked the Democratic platform for advocating "compulsory unionism" and organization of farmworkers and public employees. The ad asked rhetorically: "What will this mean to North Carolinians?" The answer: "More strikes—Loss of services—Loss of jobs."

Behind the ad campaign was Thomas F. Ellis, a Raleigh attorney who coordi-



nated Sen. Jesse Helms campaign in 1972. Ellis acts as legal counsel for the National Right-to-Work Committee, which ran ads in all the state's newspapers before the election entitled: "We're going to blow your heads off," (The Union bosses told the workers).

## ►The right-to-work for less.

Another issue that kept cropping up during the labor commissioner's race was what has been dubbed the "earnings gap" or, in campaign language, the "need for industrial development." The gap refers to the differences between North Carolina wages and those of the rest of the country: \$54 less per week than the national median.

That industrial wages in North Carolina rank last in the nation (and have almost continuously since 1954) has long been blamed on the agricultural, non-industrial character of the state's labor force and on the concentration of low-paying, low-skilled industries like textiles.

The corporate counter to the state's low ranking in wages has been a vigorous advertising campaign to attract new industry. The main inducement is the state's low wages and the non-union environment. North Carolina has become a haven for Northern runaway shops. It now ranks sixth nationally in the percentage of the workforce in industrial jobs—but still last in wages.

These embarrassing facts were pretty much covered up by state officials until last year when a University of North Carolina economics team released a sophisticated statistical report that showed not only that North Carolina was lowest in wages, but it also had profits significantly higher than the national average. Even the higher-skilled, higher-paying industries paid lower wages in North Carolina than in other states.

The report said that lack of unionization was the single most important factor in keeping the wage gap wide. It attributed the lack of unions to the state's "right-to-work" law, which provides that workers in a plant need not join a union, pay union dues, or pay for services provided to them by the union.

## ►New hope for labor.

In spite of the massive attack on Brooks and the labor movement, the North Caro-

lina business clique may have succeeded only in fanning the very flames they were seeking to smother. Much of their last minute, pre-election advertising also attempted to portray Jimmy Carter "as a stooge of George Meany and the CIO bosses."

The overwhelming majorities piled up by Democrats throughout the state can only indicate a repudiation by North Carolina voters of the right wing's heavy-handed tactics.

The campaign produced large voter turn-outs by both black groups and the labor movement. It marked the first time in the state labor movement's history that they had placed one of their own candidates in office.

During the week following the

election, the same businessmen who had poured out thousands to drag Brooks through the mud, were lined up in front of his door to drop by and make friends with the new Labor Commissioner and to remind him not to forget about "voluntary compliance."

The labor movement in North Carolina is just beginning to learn that it is one thing to get your candidate into office and another to keep him committed to those who put him there. Already the rumors are creeping around the legislature that the Labor department may not even be funded this year.

Joseph Hughes and Len Stanley live in North Carolina and are actively involved in issues of occupational health and safety there. Their writing has appeared regularly in *Southern Exposure*.

This information is

## Classified

### For Sale

5 ft. helium cylinder. Make an offer. 312/493-0996.

1951 Nash Hornet, excellent condition, no rust, with 1967 Buick 409, 4-speed. A collector's item. Asking \$1200. Write Carol, In These Times.

Emerson clock-radio, mid-1950s, one of the last of the art deco beauties. Still has factory quality-control card "Assembled by JW." \$5. Manuel, c/o In These Times.

1949 Crosley 10 cu. ft. gas refrigerator. It works, needs paint. Yours for free if you'll take it away. 312/489-4446.

### Jobs Wanted

Historian writing statistical synthesis of Spencer and Marx wants outdoor job to put some color in his cheeks. Ramon, c/o In These Times.

### Jobs Offered

New Midwest research institute seeks unselfish, socially-conscious, non-careerist, MA-PhD MOVEMENT fund-raisers. Prefer economists, political scientists, etc. Semi-scholarly studies on war-peace reconversion, etc. Applicants must READ Gross and Osterman "The New Professionals" pp 33-37, Studs Terkel "Working" pp 525-527, 537-540, Claudia Dreifus "Radical Lifestyles", and address themselves to the contents of this advertisement. Midwest Institute, 1206 N. 6th St., 43201.

Song and dance man or woman for project testing theories of Max Weber in newspaper office. Hard work, but rewarding. 312/489-4447.

### Personals

Men—Want to stand out in the crowd? Send for "Ten Secrets for a Handsome Mustache," Spike c/o In These Times.

The tumult and the shouting dies;  
The captains and the kings depart  
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,  
An humble and a contrite heart.

So far I've made \$3,213.45 selling helium cylinders through in These Times classifieds. Boy, they really work. Noel Wm. Barker, Chicago.

### Classified rates:

Display:  
Per agate line \$ .35  
Per inch 5.00

Non-display:  
Per word .25  
(20 word minimum)

Discounts:  
3 insertions 5%  
10 insertions 10%  
26 insertions 20%  
52 insertions 25%  
(on rebate basis)



# LIFE IN THE U.S.



## Crusaders boost right

*The major area of growth for conservative ideology is among evangelical people.*

By Judy MacLean

"I found it—and you can, too!" say billboards, bumper stickers and ads in more than 100 cities. It's part of "Here's Life," a campaign to give Americans a personal experience of Jesus, masterminded by Bill Bright, director of Campus Crusade for Christ and other far-right figures.

If you call the phone number in the ads, you get a friendly volunteer who asks if you'd like to receive a booklet. The booklet has several personal accounts of Christ coming into someone's life and making them a better businessman, wife, husband or athlete. It then gives four spiritual laws to live by. A personal meeting with a volunteer and a six-week Bible study group are the next steps.

It is a massive, well-financed campaign. Here's Life claims it has raised as much as \$5 million in some cities and that 14,000 churches are participating.

On the surface, Here's Life is, as leaders claim, nonpolitical. But Bright, former Rep. John B. Conlon (R-Ariz.) and a group of conservative businessmen have been quietly trying to build a grass-roots movement that would be the basis for a new political bloc based on evangelical religion and rightwing politics. Here's Life is the latest step.

► **Voting "real Christians" into office.** Previous efforts by this group include the Christian Freedom Foundation, whose branches in 50 states organized evangelicals to vote "real Christians" into political office.

Bright says if "God's representatives" were in Congress, they would "go there to legislate laws to get America back on a sound military and economic basis," reports *Sojourners* magazine, a progressive evangelical publication that exposed Here's Life rightwing connections.

Third Century Publishers, run by Bright and his associates, organized home-study groups similar to the Here's Life Bible groups earlier this year to push election of "true Christian" candidates.

They also rate Congress on key votes. For example, true Christians vote to decrease food stamp benefits and against school busing, loans to New York city and renegotiating the Panama Canal lease. President-elect Carter, who wasn't rated because he wasn't in Congress, probably wouldn't do well in spite of his evangelical religion. One Here's Life volunteer told *In These Times*, "I saw Carter on the debates and I think there are areas where he isn't completely yielded to Christ."

► **Intercessors for America.**

The group to watch, according to *Sojourners'* editor Wes Michaelson, is Intercessors for America, which sent letters to 120,000 clergymen earlier this year urging them to distribute a Bright pamphlet called "Your Five Duties as a Christian Citizen." It explained how to work on a precinct level to elect only "true Christians."

Bright is also connected to the Christian Embassy, a lobby that hopes to convert members of Congress to its brand of Christianity. Rolfe McCollister, its director, calls it "a bulwark against communism."

Pastors and volunteers in Here's Life insist its purpose is religious, not political, however, Rev. Larry Powell, pastor of one of Chicago's 300 cooperating churches, says, "We're just involved Christians, praying for our government." He says the big media campaign made it much easier to reach his neighborhood with Christ's message. Higher church membership may be a side effect, he concedes.

Volunteers seem to be drawn from the already faithful. Campus Crusade's three-day training course makes becoming an evangelist simple. It emphasizes each individual "speaking feely about acknowledging the Lord in his life," according to Chicago volunteer Roger Glatzhofer. All the media made people curious, he added, which made it easier to approach them. And if any potential converts raised questions not covered in training, a Campus Crusader is available for consultation.

► **Media blitz is manipulative.**

Clerics around the country have criticized Here's Life's media blitz as manipulative. In answer, Powell quotes St. Paul who said he'd become all things to all men. And Nimrod McNair, Chicago Here's Life board chairman, a management consultant, says, "If it's good enough for my business, it should be good enough for my church and if it's not good enough for my church, it shouldn't be good enough for my business."

Nimrod is typical of small business owners and lower-management executives who are Here's Life's local boosters and fundraisers. Nationally, bigger fish are involved, such as Richard DeVos, president of Amway Corp., who must encourage his employees to get involved if Chicago's sponsor list is any indication.

The campaign is not going as well as planned. Bright initially projected 5 million volunteers; his own staff claims 400,000. A major setback was Billy Graham's announcement in September that he opposed trying to bring Christians into a political bloc. And in cities like Atlanta, where Here's Life was tested earlier this year, observers say its effect has been superficial.

The campaign is part of Bright's attempt to fulfill the "great commission" and save America by 1980. Wes Michaelson believes Here's Life's mailing lists may be used politically later. Richard A. Viguerie, the New Right direct mail fundraiser, (*In These Times* Nov. 15) says the "real major area of growth for the conservative ideology is among evangelical people."

Beyond mailing lists, it's unclear exactly how Here's Life can build the right wing. One commentator argued that the effort turned Christians inward, creating an apolitical atmosphere that tends to support the status quo.

Michaelson believes Bright's connections and past attempts at forming a right wing bloc are the main dangers of Here's Life. "Its underlying motivation is deeply political," he says. ■

## 'Here's Life' leader is militant anticommunist

Washington. John C. Broger, the Washington, D.C., chairman of Here's Life, is a psychological warfare expert who once designed an indoctrination program for American GIs that blamed the rise of communism on Eleanor Roosevelt, Acheson and President Truman.

Called "Militant Liberty," the program was used to indoctrinate troops in West Germany by the John Birch society member, Gen. Edwin Walker, until he was removed from his command by President Kennedy in 1961.

A primary objective of "Militant Liberty" was to convert GIs into anticommunist evangelists who would in turn proselytize American civilians on their separation from the service. Here's Life similarly turns ordinary citizens into evangelists.

For 15 years, Broger has also been information director for the armed forces, where he oversees operation of the 400-station Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, publication of *Stars and Stripes* (the GI newspaper) and the military character guidance programs.

From 1954 to 1956, Pentagon records show, Broger was a psychological warfare consultant to the joint chiefs of staff. During the three years before that, according to his Pentagon biography, he

traveled throughout "Asia, the Middle East and Greece, surveying communist techniques and activities." He also lived in China during the civil war (1946-47) and in the Philippines during the "communist" insurgency there (1948-49).

Sources at Armed Forces Radio and Television Service's Rosslyn Studios say Broger "sometimes ties up the studios for days" producing special religious programs for broadcast throughout the network. Sources also say Broger uses service facilities and personnel to duplicate religious material onto extra tapes to send to military chaplains and friends. Broger also likes to record "testimonials" on the value of Christianity in daily life from influential congressional figures.

The service broadcasts news produced by commercial networks, but inserts religious-oriented "public service" announcements in place of commercials.

One disgruntled staffer said all political commentaries carried by the service are screened for "acceptability" before they are allowed to be aired. Commentaries by Walter Cronkite or John Chancellor, the source added, were rejected when they spoke unfavorably about the Vietnam war.

—Jeffrey Stein

## Wage gap between men and women increases

Washington. A study released recently by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics reveals the gap between men's and women's average earnings has actually increased in 20 years.

The report acknowledged that more women were in higher-income brackets than ever before, but showed nonetheless that the vast majority of workers at marginal-income levels were women.

The average employed woman earned 57 cents for each dollar earned by a man in 1974; she earned 64 cents in 1955.

The average male worker's income in 1974 was \$11,835; the average woman's \$6,772.

The bureau study noted that a large increase in the number of women entering the labor force had affected the statistics since new workers usually earn at the so-called "entry" level—that is, the lowest wage levels. Women are 3.7 times more likely to earn less than \$5,000 a year than men, the report said.

Fifty-three percent of women workers earn between \$5,000 and \$7,000 a year. Only 18 percent of working men earn in the same range, according to the study.

"These differences between the earnings of men and women suggest that women are being paid less for doing the same job,"

the report said. On the other hand, the differential between men's and women's starting salaries for comparable jobs has shrunk significantly in five years, although it remains "rather startling."

In the professional/semi-professional area, the report concluded: "The absolute dollar gap between men and women widens with increasing levels of educational attainment." Women constitute only 5 percent of those earning above \$15,000 a year.

Minority women were predictably worse off than white women. Their earnings amounted to, on the average, 94 percent of white women, 73 percent of non-white men and 54 percent of white men.

—Tim Frasca

### Correction

The Dec. 6-12 issue of *In These Times* lists Holt, Rinehart and Winston as publishers of *The Phone Book*, by J. Edward Hyde. The Henry Regnery Co. of Chicago published the book.



# Workers strike against alternative paper

By Joel Parker

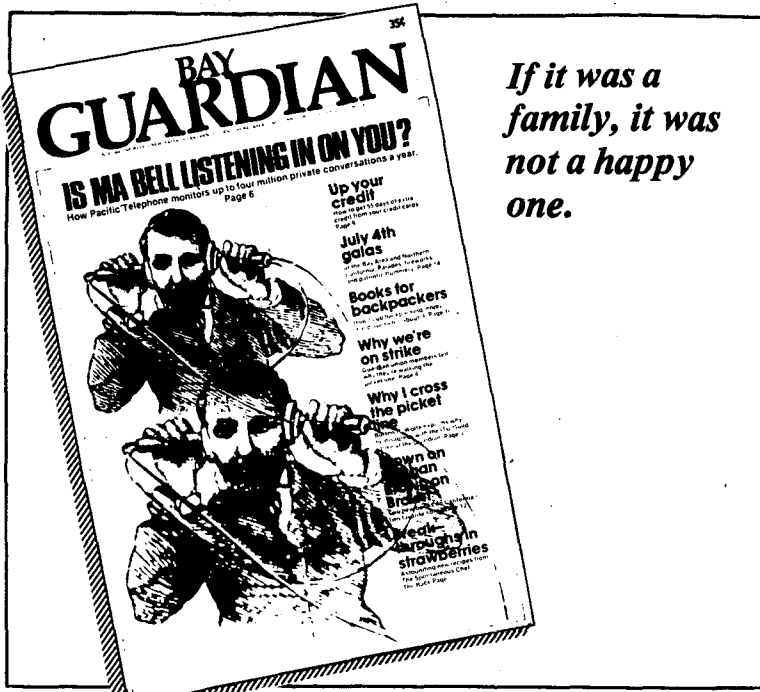
San Francisco. The upstart "alternative" newspaper here, the *Bay Guardian*, marked its tenth anniversary this year with a picket line at the front door. The struggling weekly, which built a reputation as a liberal muckracker by groundbreaking exposes of public utilities and corrupt redevelopment schemes, faces the longest newspaper strike in the city's history.

The June 15 walkout was precipitated by bread and butter issues. Agreement has been reached on a modest wage increase plus fringe benefits. But the strike has become for publisher Bruce Brugmann a holy war against what he sees as a union plot to destroy the *Guardian* on behalf of the two commercial daily newspapers.

For the strikers "the issue is whether we'll have a union at all, let alone a union shop and job security," as one of them put it.

Both sides agree on the conditions that provoked the strike—long hours, little pay, no job security—conditions mirrored in many similar organizations throughout the country. *Guardian* workers endured 10- to 14-hour workdays with no overtime pay, \$135-a-week maximum salaries, no sick leave and no grievance procedure or recourse if fired.

For Brugmann, the paper's crusading image, its inability to turn a profit and his own long hours of sweat and sacrifice jus-



*If it was a family, it was not a happy one.*

A post-strike issue of the *Bay Guardian* with an article by star reporter Burton Wolfe entitled "Why I cross the picket line."

tified workers sacrifices. Talking to him one senses he regards the strike as a personal betrayal—the staff had been a family, with him as the father.

If it was a family, it was not a happy one. Discontent gradually surfaced over worsening working conditions. When Brugmann settled an anti-monopoly suit against the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* out of court for \$500,000 in June 1975, it became even harder for the staff to accept conditions.

Workers began organizing for a union that fall. Amid the organizing drive, the day after Thanksgiving, 16 people were

laid off. Many had been vocal union advocates. "Most of us were caught by surprise," striker Nancy Dunn said. "We didn't expect Bruce to fight his own workers with the same gusto he goes after the Bank of America."

A month later, workers voted to affiliate with the Newspaper Guild and the International Typographical Union by a 37-to-3 margin, the first time an AFL-CIO union had won a toehold at an alternative newspaper. By the time of the strike, cutbacks in hours and "harassment" had forced several resignations. Other workers had been fired and strikers were reduced to 23, joined by

five or six regular freelancers.

Underlying the decision to strike was Brugmann's use of the \$300,000 left after taxes and attorneys fees from the *Chronicle/Examiner* settlement to purchase a building, invest in new equipment and switch to weekly publication from the original bi-weekly format.

The sudden influx of money and the decision to go weekly meant big changes.

The *Guardian* had always been an uneasy blend of lifestyle features and political articles. Brugmann points with pride to the *Guardian's* investigative articles.

News coverage of women, labor, community, gay and consumer issues was augmented by cultural features reflecting the lifestyle of the paper's readership—young, white, college-educated.

Going weekly to Brugmann meant "making it a different paper." He explains, "You can't have the same percentage of political things."

"Brugmann had decided to make the *Guardian* into a slick commercial paper," striker Bill Wallace, former East Bay Bureau chief, recalls. "People became suspicious. It no longer seemed like a crusade. You lost the sense of working for a cause."

Editorial content was also more rigidly decided by Brugmann and management. Ken McEldowney, former consumer writer, remembers that before the settlement "it was loose enough so that all the editorial people had some input. That all

changed. A very clear line was drawn between management and staff. When staff could no longer participate in decision-making, it created ideal conditions for organizing a union."

The strikers originally raised demands for more editorial control. They dropped the demands when they met stonewall opposition from Brugmann, a decision some now regret. Brugmann is almost astonished that the strikers feel they had the right to encroach on his editorial power.

In Brugmann's eyes the strike has already failed. "They're gonna take our last offer or nothing," he told *In These Times*. In November he turned down the strikers' offer to go back to work and put the remaining unresolved issues into binding arbitration. The paper continues to hit the streets pretty much on schedule, published by supervisors, management loyalists and about two dozen strikebreakers.

The strikers haven't given up. They point out that the advertising lifeblood of the paper has dropped almost 50 percent. Strikers distributed almost 25,000 copies of their own newspaper to explain their side of the issues.

As one striker put it, "We don't think the people in this town who kept the paper afloat for 10 years will let Brugmann get away with union busting. They won't let him rest on his liberal laurels without questioning whether the *Guardian* really is a progressive alternative to the monopoly press."

Yes indeed, In These Times still needs distributors.

Write our circulation manager today.



# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## 'Network'—TV madness on film



**Chayevsky is a biting satirist. He is against the big conglomerates, the unprincipled hucksters, cowardly businessmen, and the American people who let TV do their thinking for them.**

### NETWORK

Directed by Sidney Lumet, screenplay by Paddy Chayevsky  
Produced by MGM, distributed by United Artists, Rated R

Playwright Paddy Chayevsky roars through his mouthpiece, Howard Beale, a TV news anchorman, played by Peter Finch. The voice of the apocalypse continues for 120 minutes, indicting everything and everybody—television, the American public, the capitalist system, supranational corporations. *Network*, as directed by Sidney Lumet, is super real, slick and glassy, and man is it alive!

Beale, the top-ranking, elder-statesman commentator of United Broadcasting System, is suffering from fallen ratings. The UBS executives fire him with one week's notice. That night, on his prime-time broadcast, Beale announces his firing and that he will commit suicide on the air

"one week from tonight." Tune in same day, same time, next week for the final show.

At first no one notices what Beale has said. Then the public starts to call in to say, "No, no, don't..." They love him.

There is a quick executive decision: Beale is allowed back on the air in his usual slot, on condition that he apologize to the public for his "sick offer" of suicide. (The network's fair image must be maintained.) In the meantime, a frantic search is on for a replacement.

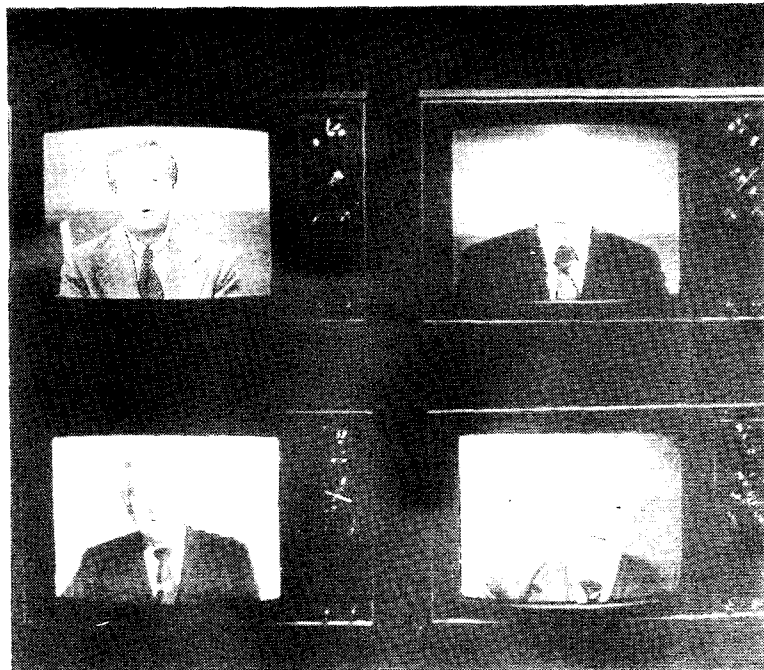
On the air the next night, Beale does apologize for his melodramatic gesture, and then goes berserk. It's all bullshit, he says. The news doesn't tell the truth! Nobody tells the truth! Life in America is gray and blah! We're all brain-washed! All over the country UBS executives are in an uproar. Phones jangle, and Beale is wrestled away from the microphone, live on camera. Pande-

monium ensues. The public loves it.

And the ratings begin to rise.

Only one man, Beale's longtime friend and colleague, Max Schumacher (William Holden) cares whether or not Beale has flipped his wig. Enter a super-ambitious young woman executive (Faye Dunaway) with no scruples and plenty of knuckles. She heats up like a toaster when she sees a rising rating. (It seems she has a special relationship with the American public, which is "turning sullen.") Howard Beale, mad news commentator, turned evangelist and prophet of doom is just what is needed to bring the public back to UBS. Exploit him! Build ratings! There's no biz like show biz. She adds a seers to the news hour to predict the news.

From there on out it is every man for himself. Heads roll, ratings rise, executives come and go, and the audience is given an inside track on what may be called



United Artists  
The fourth network, lower right, featuring Howard Beal (Peter Finch) as star anchor man.

Network Politics—but is really mayhem.

The film is funny, horrifying, fast paced. Chayevsky, the early champion of the charms of the little man (*Marty*) has turned into a biting satirist who knows his business as a showman. He is against the Arab oil moguls, the big conglomerates, the unprincipled hucksters, cowardly businessmen and the American people who let TV do their thinking for them. He is an angry man.

But Paddy Chayevsky is also cynical. The last line in the film is: "And so Howard Beale became the first man to be killed on television for ratings." With this line Chayevsky pulls the rug out from under you, and lets you know you have been had. I, for one, felt cheated. Slick showmanship had been used to sell me the satire of *Network*; now it was ridiculed as phoney. Not fair.

The performances in the film are bigger than life. Faye Dunaway's super-aggressive female executive is played with so much dash that she is scary. William Holden is very civilized as the

only representative of the "old order" of decent, honest newsman. Peter Finch is thoroughly convincing as the honest newsman who has been driven mad by the machinations of the Network, and those higher up.

Sidney Lumet becomes a better director with each succeeding film. In *Network* his camera is more fluid, the action moves at breakneck speed. The film editor is usually very much behind the scenes, but in *Network* Allen Heim has done an exceptionally good job. His pace never slackens.

There is one particularly intriguing scene in the movie, where one is given a peek into the business of the ratings war: how ratings are translated into advertising dollars. Just don't expect the final word on the corruption of our society. For a moment or two it looks as if that were the direction we were going in, but at the last minute it turns out they were only fooling.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons works as an editor in film in New York city. She is the regular New York film critic for *In These Times*.

## Tunnel vision traps social workers

### RADICAL SOCIAL WORK

Edited by Roy Bailey and Mike Brave, with an introductory chapter by Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven  
Pantheon Books, New York, 1975

This collection of essays, originally published in England, attempts to describe and come to terms with the anomalous position of the social worker in capitalist society. The dilemma is how can we change society while, at the same time, improving the condition of its victims. Or, will making things slightly better, merely postpone more desirable change?

Author after author struggles with this question and comes up guilty and confused about what to do for a client in the short run if it does not serve the end of radical restructuring of society, or—even worse—if it may impede that restructuring.

The authors run the gamut of those who have tried radicalism and found it unsatisfactory, to those who are committed to radicalism and see every reform as an attempt to co-opt potential revolutionaries.

Many of the writers erect a straw man of pure psychoanalytic casework, which becomes a bulwark of capitalism because it focuses on individual pathology as the source of all society's ills.

These authors assume that social workers have sat blindfolded with their fingers in their ears through the 1940s, '50s and '60s while Freud's theories were elaborated, revised and, in many cases, discarded.

Actually, social workers in these years recognized that the individual could be understood only as part of society and sub-cultures within that society and were often in the forefront of movements to make society more responsive to the needs of the powerless.

Many of the articles are available as reminders of the pitfalls of too narrow a focus on individual pathology, of which there is still a residue in social work education. But the book as a whole illustrates the thesis that commitment to any circumscribed philosophy (radical, liberal or conservative) results in tunnel vision. The most radical of the writers

are more reductionist in their Marxian rigidity than orthodox Freudians (of whom there are very few).

Remaining openminded is a difficult stance. Few people can stand the anxiety of not having preconceived answers to apply to all situations. Yet, to be truly effective, a social worker has to remain openminded and eclectic, uncommitted to easy theoretical positions. The problem is how to use accumulated knowledge creatively, without becoming fossilized.

It is no more ludicrous to blame a suffering individual for his problems (as some of these essays accuse social workers of doing) than it is to tell him that nothing can be done about his present ills and exhort him to join a revolutionary movement.

It is good to have this collection available in paperback in an American edition; too bad that this one is distinguished by its nearly illegible typography.

—Charlotte Zilversmit

Charlotte Zilversmit is a social worker who is presently working in child/parent relations.

## ALBUM

In These Times photo by Jane Melnick





## PBS airs best in children's shows

American children are watching TV, on the average, four hours a day. By the time one of them gets to kindergarten, he or she has spent more time in front of the tube than it would take to earn a college degree. By the time he or she gets out of high school, TV consumption will have used up twice as many hours as schooling, and the diet will have included 350,000 commercials and 18,000 murders.

Parents, teachers, police departments and dentists are worried about the effect of all this on the nation's future health. While organizations like Action for Children's Television (see opposite page) put pressure on the networks to improve their offerings, the Public Broadcasting System has been taking affirmative action. The full slate of PBS children's and young adult's programs is astonishing—in variety as well as in quality.

Everybody identifies PBS with "Sesame Street," which has been on the air since 1969, and has made what many believe is the greatest single contribution to solving the problem of teaching young children to read. Its characters—particularly Big Bird—have become part of American folk lore, along with Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck. (Big Bird can be seen on skates in the Ice Follies and on at least one float in every Thanksgiving or New Year's Day parade.)

The first and most successful imitator of "Sesame Street" is also PBS produced, frequently airing right after it. "The Electric Company" uses the same techniques, but with more sophisticated humor and at a faster pace. The object is the same: getting Johnny and Janey to read and keep on reading.

"Zoom," now in its fifth year, follows the format of "The Electric Company," but is different

in that it is produced by, as well as for, young teenagers. The best thing about "Zoom" is the actors—young, enthusiastic, enormously energetic. They make adolescence look like fun, even to parents and other outsiders.

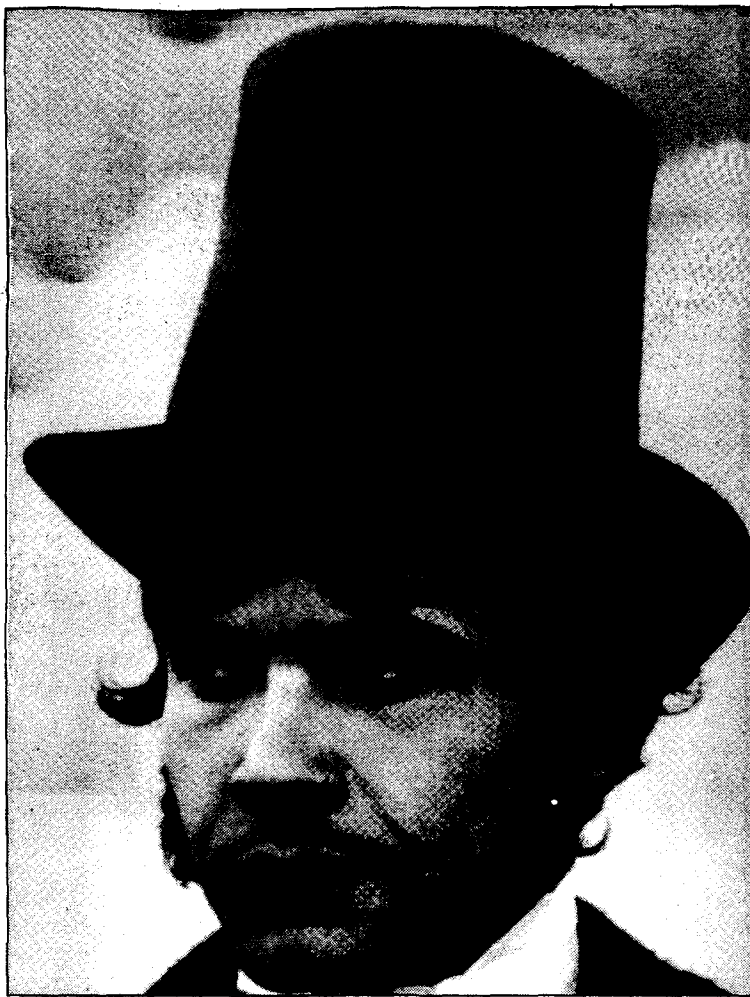
For the very young there is "Mister Rogers Neighborhood," also in its fifth year. This is a slow-paced, loving exploration of all sorts of "interesting things," by a single, middle-aged actor who can hand out a line of good-conduct maxims and self-improvement suggestions without turning his listeners off, or vice versa.

There are two fine bi-lingual programs for Spanish/English-speaking young people. "Villa Alegre" is produced in Oakland, Calif., and is concerned with human relationships as perceived by children. "Carrascolendas," produced in Austin, Texas, is a bright musical program somewhat in the style of "Zoom."

This season there is a crop of new programs for the young, topped by the distinguished "Once upon a Classic" series. The host is actor Bill Bixby, a great favorite with young viewers, and the season so far has consisted of serial versions of "Heidi" and "The Prince and the Pauper."

In 1977 there will be a serialized "David Copperfield" and four one-shot specials: "Avalanche" (to be aired on New Year's Day), "The Man from Nowhere," "The Battle of Billy's Pond" and "Hijack."

"The Big Blue Marble" is not really new. It was produced outside the PBS network and shown by some UHF stations last year. It's international, investigating the lifestyles of children all over the world, with a Pen-Pal segment to encourage cross-cultural correspondence, and segments on "how to say" familiar phrases



Young David Copperfield (David Yelland) on PBS series.

in many languages and "how to do" treatments of various national arts and crafts.

"Rebop" is new. It was produced for Boston's PBS affiliate by Topper Carew, TV's first black executive producer, and covers varied lifestyles and cultures within the U.S. Children in urban areas are introduced to the lives of children on farms, in bayous and deserts, as well as to different sorts of urban ghettos. There are treatments of the problems of displaced children (a Vietnamese orphan) and children in difficult circumstances (the only nondeaf member of an all-deaf family).

Newest of all is "Studio See," scheduled to begin in January and addressed to the 10- to 14-year-old group, filmed on location, from Alaska to Nova Scotia, with "a generous sampling of young opinion on every imaginable topic."

Last but not least, there are the overtly educational programs, some designed for in-school use, others for the living room. Of special interest is "The Infinity Factory," an attempt to reach disadvantaged children who see little sense in making the effort required to master mathematics. "Measure Metrics," which begins in January, will introduce the metric system to young listeners (who may then, presumably, introduce their parents to it).

Few, if any, PBS stations carry all of these at any given time. Yours may have finished a series before your interest in it was triggered. Or they may have it scheduled for several weeks or months hence.

Viewers who know what they want should let their local public station know. They have a better chance of getting it there than on any of the networks or local commercial stations.

## Debunking myths that control children

**THE MYTH OF THE HYPERACTIVE CHILD AND OTHER MEANS OF CHILD CONTROL**  
By Peter Schrag and Diane Divoky  
Dell, \$2.25 (1975, paperback)

"Why can't Johnny read?"

Years ago the response by school officials might have been—"because he's black," "because he's poor," "because he's stupid." Today there is a more sophisticated answer. Now Johnny's "ill." He suffers from "minimal brain dysfunction," "learning disability," or "hyperkinesis."

But don't worry. Have him take two Ritalin tablets or three Dexedrine pills every day. He may lose some weight, get nauseous from time to time, become increasingly paranoid, but he'll sit quietly and smile. And he won't interrupt the teacher anymore.

Peter Schrag and Diane Divoky, in a well-researched and clearly written book, describe the growing use of the "medical model" in education, and the resultant use of drugs, behavior modification and dossiers in controlling the young. A few facts:

•At least half a million, per-

haps as many as two and a half million school children have had amphetamines prescribed for them for so-called learning disabilities;

•More than 30 states have passed laws that require school districts to test their pupils along a variety of social-psychological measures such as "impulse control" and "social behavior;"

•By the late 60s three-quarters of all school systems kept student personality ratings without real safeguards to protect their accessibility from other educators, police or prospective employers.

These "new techniques" in education multiply despite the fact that they do not produce the results they promise. Batteries of pseudo-psychological tests have not been able to predict "anti-social" behavior. The millions of Ritalin tablets swallowed have not helped children to read. New forms of pupil placement are no more accurate than the old racist tracking systems. "In Washington, court-ordered testing of 'special track' children revealed that two-thirds had been mislabeled and misplaced, and should have been in regular classes."

The larger danger, for these

authors, is that we accept the assumptions upon which these programs are based:

•That deviance (be it hyperactivity, hypoactivity, or merely curiosity) is a sign of illness;

•That the state, through the school, can determine a standard of psychological and social health and prescribe treatment for failure to meet it. "It is the ideology of drugging, the idea that people can and should be chemically managed, that represents the most pervasive imposition on personal liberty and the most dangerous extension of authority."

How have we reached the point where the victims—or the parents of the victims—acquiesce in this state of affairs?

Partly because the changeover from the strap to the pill has been made to appear humane. The pharmaceutical companies, in collaboration with the National Institute of Mental Health and academic researchers, have pushed, promulgated and publicized the necessity for the new treatment. In some cases parents have been coerced into accepting the official wisdom; in others, they have voluntarily

bowed to the authority of the professionals.

Meanwhile, children are conditioned to distrust their own instincts. When they suffered corporal punishment, at least they knew who the enemy was. Now that identification has been obscured. The illness is "outside their control." They are thus given license to act irresponsibly since the very idea of responsibility has been taken from them.

In a valuable appendix, Schrag and Divoky suggest individual and collective ways of fighting the new onslaught. They list organizations that are involved in the struggle. It would have been valuable for them to analyze more deeply their observation that "The system no longer requires [the individual's] muscle, but it needs his obedience. It no longer must train him to be a reliable worker, but it must condition him to be managed."

Nonetheless, the importance of this book and the dangers it describes cannot be minimized.

—Maynard Seider

Maynard Seider is a sociologist living, at present, in Massachusetts.

## IN THESE TIMES

Ever see the ads big magazines take out to sell advertising space in their own pages?

Promising that their readership, according to a scientific survey, contains the highest percentage of the most educated, sophisticated consumers ever brought together on one list? The single men making over 30,000, just itching to buy the latest fast car?

The women most recently promoted to the executive suite, waiting to hear about the latest in stereo equipment and new styles in liqueurs? Well, In These Times isn't promising that. But a very unscientific survey, made right here in our own office, shows that our readers are among the most active, dedicated and concerned in the U.S.. So, if you have something you'd like them to read, see, know about, ride in, eat, drink or wear,

### THIS SPACE COULD BE YOURS

For information about advertising rates and dates, contact Timothy J. Naylor, Advertising Director, In These Times, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622, (312) 489-4444.



By Ben Achtenberg

Jamaica Plain, Mass. Ever alert for the patronizing stereotype that makes "cute" headlines, the commercial press from the beginning referred to them as "four little mothers from Newton." Dismayed by what their children were seeing on television, four Boston-area women had decided to do something about it.

Calling themselves Action for Children's Television (ACT), they set out in late 1968 to confront the combined might of the broadcasting and advertising industries—and they got results, including reduction of the amount of advertising on children's TV and elimination of vitamin ads altogether. They have also succeeded in focusing more public and government attention on the issue than it has ever had before.

Today, Peggy Charren, the only one of the four still active in the group, is president of a citizens' advocacy organization with a paid staff of 10 and 6,000 members nationwide.

"They always referred to us as housewives," she recalls. "I don't happen to think anybody is married to a house, but we could accept the sexist attitude of the press because at least what they were saying about our criticisms of children's television was correct, and it did get us in the papers. Actually we were not working at the time because we had young children, but had all worked before and planned to work again." (One founder is a lawyer, another a journalist and the third is involved in local political activity.)

"We were also from the middle class, and the problems we had in getting started make it obvious how much more difficult it is for people who are disadvantaged by the economic structure of this country to try to work for change. You have to have the money for the long-distance phone calls, for the trips down to Washington."

After ACT members had done a lot of reading and watching, they began meeting with local people in the broadcasting industry to voice their concerns.

"They told us the reason programming didn't meet the needs of children was that it wasn't designed to. It was designed to meet the needs of advertisers—to get the largest share of the '2 to 11-year-old market' in front of that set—because that's how broadcasters get paid. They were honest about it and it came as a shock to us as parents to hear our children referred to as a market."

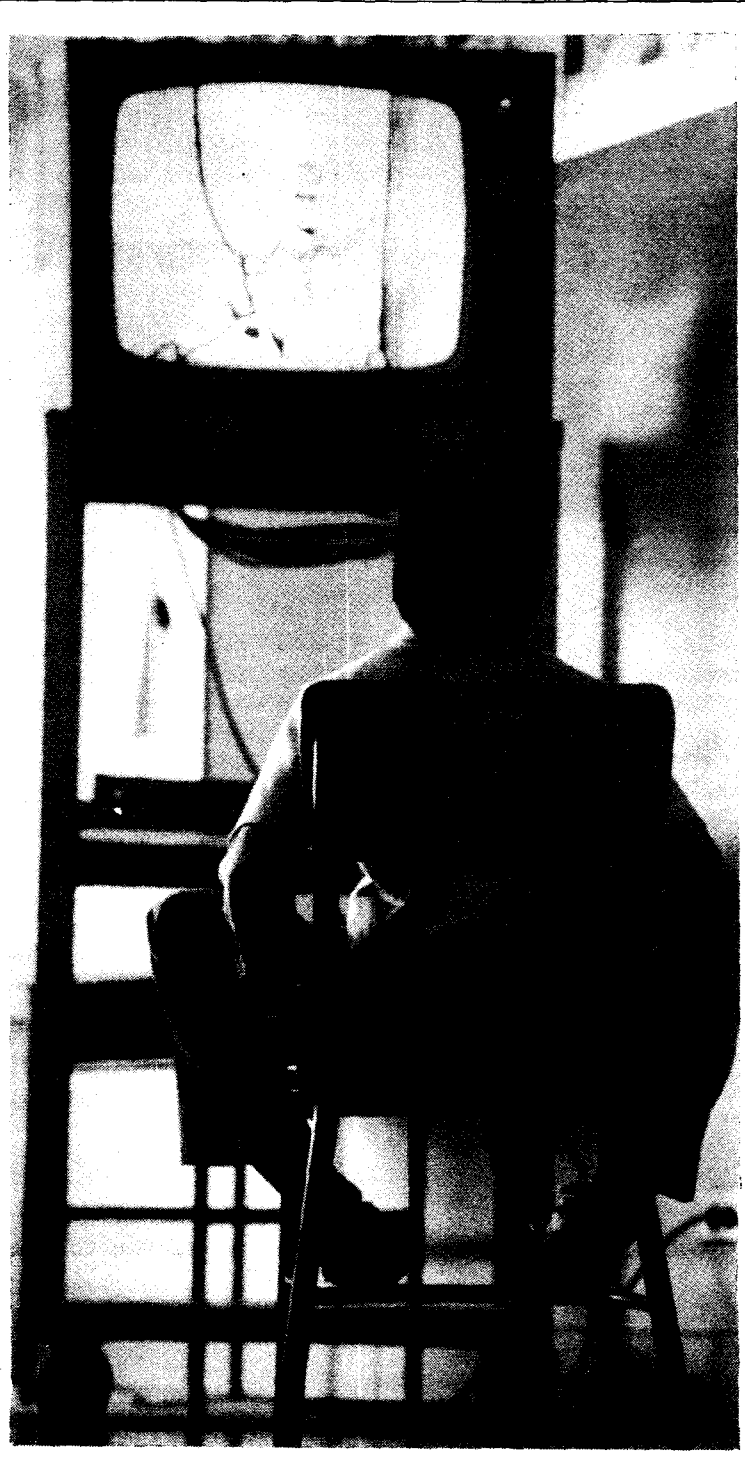
#### ► Ban advertising request.

Arguing that if advertising stood in the way of responsible programming, the solution was to eliminate advertising, ACT filed a petition asking the Federal Communications Commission to ban ads from children's TV and establish programming for children as a public service responsibility of the broadcasters.

"People have asked how we got to see the FCC," Charren says. "We just called them up. We didn't know at the time that we were the first citizens' group that had even succeeded in meeting with them."

A week after the ACT visit, the FCC issued a notice of proposed rulemaking inviting arguments on whether ACT's proposals should be adopted as FCC regulations. This almost unpre-

## Citizens' group acts against ads aimed at the 'children market'



cedented move led to four years of debate before the commission, with broadcasters protesting not only that such rules would interfere with their "freedom of speech," but also that through advertising children "learn about the workings of the free enterprise system and about products of interest to them."

If the prompt FCC initial action was encouraging, the outcome was a disappointment. In a 1974 policy statement the Commission announced it would leave the matter of advertising on children's TV to the industry's self-regulatory mechanisms. In an apparent deal with the FCC the National Association of Broadcasters announced guidelines for members that would gradually reduce ad minutes allowed for each programming hour.

Despite the changes, the NAB code still allows more advertising on children's programming than on shows directed at adults. In any case, only about 60 percent of the nation's broadcasters are NAB members. The NAB has no means of monitoring its members for code compliance and in fact an ACT-sponsored study found Boston stations regularly violated the NAB code requirements during 1975.

Undeterred by FCC failure to act decisively, ACT has sued the commission in federal court and that case is pending.

#### ► May not get total elimination.

The setback may have dented the organization's early optimism, however. ACT recognizes it may not get a total elimination of advertising.

"If we could eliminate just the ads for products that damage children," Charren says, "the ads for highly sugared foods, the ads that keep reminding kids to eat the candy that parents are trying to get them to forget about, the ads for expensive toys that make people who don't have any money to spare feel like they have to spend \$40 to give their kids a happy Christmas, you'd be surprised how little would be left. It would solve 99 percent of the problem, and we could probably live with what was left."

ACT has also moved against particular kinds of ads it feels to be harmful or deceptive. Its pressure was responsible for networks stopping the practice of kid-show hosts selling products on their shows.

Pointing out that vitamin overdose is the second major cause of poisoning among children under 5, ACT recently petitioned the Federal Trade Commission to enjoin Hudson Pharmaceuticals' ads for "delicious, chewable" Spider-Man vitamins. (Other major drug manufacturers had already "voluntarily" removed their vitamin ads in response to ACT pressure.)

Most recently the organiza-

tion has filed a test-case suit against Mars Inc. for Milky Way ads that encourage kids to eat candy bars "wherever you are... at work, rest or play."

The group attempts to encourage positive alternatives in children's programming. It gives awards for creative and innovative programming and is preparing "resource handbooks," including one on programming for handicapped children.

#### ► No public base.

Although it has grown to a membership of 6,000 and spawned at least 15 independent but affiliated organizations around the country, the most serious criticism still made of ACT as an organization is that it has no public base and is, in fact, just a small group of suburban women pushing their own point of view. Charren acknowledges a continual tension within the organization over whether to emphasize public education and involvement or lobbying and pressure on the industry and government.

So far most ACT efforts have been aimed at "decision makers."

"You have to have priorities," Charren says. "ACT felt we had to establish the kind of credibility with government and the industry that would make any kind of operation reasonable. That meant less education of the public. Now that we've established ourselves as a force we have more time and more money for things like the resource handbooks and for public education—meaning not just parents and children, but teachers, pediatricians, anybody who has to deal with this new force which is affecting the growth and development of our children."

In an unguarded moment, CBS official John Schneider once referred to ACT as "the enemy." Most industry spokesmen, however, are careful to praise the group's goals at least, while disagreeing with or ignoring its proposals.

"It's become very unpopular to knock ACT," Charren says. "You don't want to come across as the opponent of someone who's defending children. Even the advertisers will say we're terrific."

Though she agrees any group trying to reduce the amount of commercial time on TV is bound to be seen as a threat by most of the industry, she also points out that the broadcasting people most involved in producing good children's programs feel their efforts are supported by ACT challenges to the status quo.

Recognizing limitations to what can be accomplished in a profit-oriented system, Charren is nonetheless hopeful about ACT's future.

"What we've learned as a consumer group is patience," she says. "It never occurred to me when we started this organization that I was going to be doing it seven years later. It was something I was going to do until my child got a little older and I could go back to work. If it weren't working I wouldn't be here. We are getting somewhere. We are making changes. Maybe eventually they'll have to get back to selling regular cereals instead of purple cereals with marshmallows in them. It may be too optimistic, but we expect to get where we want to go."

Ben Achtenberg is a writer, filmmaker and photographer living outside Boston.

## Child-oriented ads net soaring profits

Jamaica Plain, Mass. A study unveiled at Action for Children's Television's recent symposium on "Products and Programs: The Child as Consumer" reveals that, despite cuts in ad time, network revenues from commercials on children's programs rose last year to a record high.

Alan Pearce, staff economist for the communications subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, reported the three networks grossed more than \$90 million from child-oriented ads in 1975, more than 16 percent higher than the previous year, even though NAB code changes had cut the amount of ad time allowed by 12 to 17 percent.

As might have been expected—and as ACT predicted—with the amount of available advertising time reduced, networks simply raised their rates for the time that was left. These increased costs in turn have been passed on to customers in the form of higher prices for cereals and toys. (A recent ACT-sponsored study found more than half the toys advertised during the pre-Christmas season in 1975 were selling for more than \$12—and the range went as high as \$129.95.)

In concluding his report, Pearce noted:

"The major advertisers will remain in children's television because it has proved to be effective and profitable for them. Their only fear is that Congress, the Federal Trade Commission or the Federal Communications Commission might in some way restrict what can be advertised in programming directed toward children."

If ACT has its way, the advertisers' worst fears may yet be realized.

—Ben Achtenberg

## P.B.S. network Christmas fare

*These are specials for the Christmas season, released nationally by the Public Broadcasting System. Check your local station listings for date and time of airing.*

#### Dance Programs:

● *Ballet Shoes*, the 1930 classic about three young orphan girls in quest of a career. In two parts. Produced by Boston's WGBH.

● *Cinderella*, Prokofiev's music. The classic fairy tale danced by the City Ballet of Columbia, S.C.

● *The Skaters and Billy the Kid*, two of the American Ballet Theatre's best, on the Great Performances Series, out of New York.

#### Music Programs:

● *Christmas at Pops*, the Boston Pops, conducted by Arthur Fiedler.

● *The Nutcracker Suite*, the National Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Andre Kostelanetz.

● *Christmas Celebration*, at the Cloisters in New York, a survey of Christmas music and fables, with the Hofstra College Choral.



# Gil Scott-Heron: a new popular musician with less glitter, more politics

Gil Scott-Heron is a tall calm singer. He smiles lightly from off stage and cocks his head. The sell-out crowd of blacks and whites in their 20s is on its feet calling for an encore. The audience is not hollering and hooting. Gil Scott-Heron fronts the Midnight Band, a jazz and soul group.

The crowd wants him back. They begin to chain-clap in rhythm. Scott-Heron tugs his floppy green-mottled camouflage cap over his ears and motions to the band. Barnett Williams, "The Doctor," picks up his conga; Gil Scott-Heron slides behind the

electric piano and adjusts the voice-mike; and the Midnight Band slams into "The Bottle," their signature piece:

*See that black boy over there, runnin' scared,  
His old man in a bottle.  
He done quit his 9-to-5, he drinks full time,  
Now he's livin' in a bottle.\**

Gil Scott-Heron is a musician with politics. "The Revolution will not be televised," he sang five years ago, at a time when more than a few musicians were writing and playing songs with meaning that didn't just go

*Continued next column*



Arista

Gil Scott-Heron: "I support black and white, poor and working people."

Labor's Day

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"The Strike" (1886) by Robert Koehler

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and a skilled machinist  
raised in Milwaukee  
apprenticed as engraver  
studied in Munich and  
worked there at his art  
preferring to portray  
working people  
Director of the  
Minneapolis School of  
Art, 1893 to 1914. Died  
1917 Minneapolis.



"The Carpenter's Family" by Robert Koehler

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Just 75¢ each — 50% off for gift boxes of 25!

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Send just \$10 for 25 of either Art Print Original at 50% discount, with envelopes boxed and postpaid.

Poster 13-1/2" x 20-1/2" of "The Strike" also available suitable for framing with story of the painting, postpaid — \$2.50.

### GREEN MOUNTAIN EDITIONS

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- \_\_\_\_\_ 25 cards/envelopes, "The Strike" \$10
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Please send information to this Friend: \_\_\_\_\_

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"Oooh wah, oooh wah, oooh wah," as Bob Dylan chuckled in his "115th Dream."

Now when popular music with political lyrics is about as scarce on the radio and in the concert halls as radical novels are in bus station libraries, Gil Scott-Heron has a wider audience than ever.

"The Bottle" with its building rhythm and the Doctor's conga solo is a surprise disco hit, while "Johannesburg" was popular on Top 40 as well as soul stations months before the liberation struggles in Southern Africa were splashed across the newspapers.

Too many singer-songwriters in the subculture of left-wing music are so consciously "political" that they separate out the music and lose their audience. "If you get lost in your own rap," laughs Gil Scott-Heron, "you lose the whole game. Anybody can make it more complicated."

Scott-Heron is "about making things simpler." His songs (many of them co-written with composition man Brian Jackson), are about the real problems of real people. They are accessible, and people understand. Little glitter and few rock 'n' roll nightmares shine through.

"What's the word? Johannesburg!" the chorus line of his hit, was an acknowledged replay of the street line, "What's the word? Thunderbird!" "Home Is Where the Hatred Is" runs down junk. "Whitey on the Moon" ends with the suggestion that the bill for Sister Nel's rat bite be sent to Whitey on the moon. In "Bicentennial Blues" Gerald Ford becomes "oatmeal man," Ronald Reagan comes out "Hollyweird," and Jimmy Carter is just plain "Skipper."

"I don't consider myself in any party, Democratic or Republican," Scott-Heron says. "I'm not really a student of political science. I'm a student of more-

or-less logic because most people look at things in terms of common sense—whether everybody gets a fair shake."

"I'm not a protest singer," protests Gil Scott-Heron. Sometimes "the songs that people want to talk about are the ones that are more personal than political, more private than public, more of an emotion than an issue. I like the fact that my mother is one of my biggest fans. It's important to me that she understands what my songs are about, because it proves to me that what I'm talking about ain't crazy."

Gil Scott-Heron's mother is a librarian. His father was a Jamaican soccer player. Raised by his grandmother in Jackson, Tenn., he was accepted at the Fieldston prep school and later went to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Few black musicians get this kind of training, but for Scott-Heron there was no break in stride between Fieldston and the Midnight Band. In school he discovered poet Langston Hughes, then published two novels, *The Vulture* (when he was only 19) and *The Nigger Factory*. He put out a third book (of poetry) called *Small Talk at 125th and Lenox*. *Small Talk* found its way onto a talking record, and Scott-Heron was a recording artist.

"What I do on records is more visible. It takes precedence in people's minds but not necessarily in my life. I'm an artist who has several vehicles and I use whichever one most directly applies to the ideas I'm presenting. If it should be a play, I don't try to sing it." Scott-Heron laughs at this. He seems to be the sort of serious person who laughs a lot.

Many record artists, like Isaac Hayes or Elvis Presley, lose their roots when they begin to make it. I don't know that having two novels and a book of poetry under your belt gives you a perspective beyond chest-chains and

pink Cadillacs, but I think it could help. Some artists, like the Persuasions, bring their past into their present and manage to survive anyway, but it's harder when the times are not reeling and rocking politically as they were a few years back.

At the moment there is a "hesitancy toward dealing with politics," says Gil Scott-Heron, "because things have been so tentative and paranoid that people are, you know, sometimes afraid to comment on it." When there is no mass movement for change to support a songwriter calling for an end to "winter in America," the only way to stay solid with the past, with the audience and the community, is to work against the isolation the music industry brings. The Midnight Band plays the benefits and the small clubs along with the big money concert halls.

Where is Gil Scott-Heron politically? Does he support, in the end, a movement of black and white, poor and working people, against the corporations?

"I already support black and white, poor and working people in this country," he laughs again. "I can't say that I would join or support any specific organization until I saw it—saw what it was doing, saw who it was doing it for. But I'll say that what I've been part of over the last six or seven years has contributed to everything from the NAACP to the Black Muslims, Shirley Chisholm to Dick Gregory to Joanne Little, to whoever, you know what I mean? In the prisons, in the streets, on the farms, where ever. I'll continue to be part of that kind of thing 'cause that's where I'm coming from."

—Steve Chapple

Steve Chapple is a free-lance journalist living in San Francisco. He is a regular contributor to *In These Times*.

\*"The Bottle" is copyright by Brouhaha Music, 1973, ASCAP.



# IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Mervyn Jones

## Does Britain need a House of Lords?

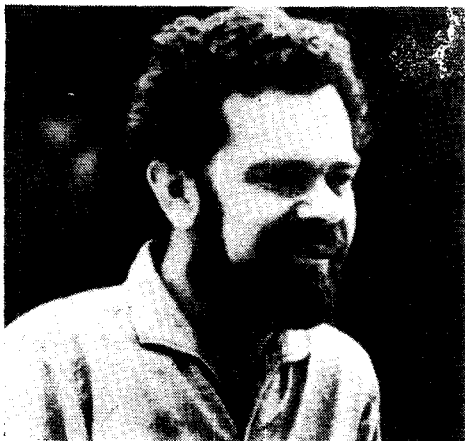
The stage is now set for a major battle between the British Labor government and the entrenched Tory majority in the House of Lords. The flashpoint has been a change made by the Lords in the government bill to nationalize the aircraft and shipbuilding industries.

Aircraft is a case of taking over a monopoly—following several mergers, the industry is dominated by the British Aircraft Corporation. Since Britain already has nationalized airlines, the government is close to being the only customer.

As for shipbuilding, it is in a state of acute decline because of successful competition by foreign—especially Japanese—shipbuilders, and for years has been kept alive only by government subsidy. Ministers now reasonably argue that subsidy must be accompanied by control. Unless speedy steps are taken to improve efficiency, the industry could cease to exist within a measurable time.

Hence, there has been little or no resistance to nationalization from business circles, and the measure has been grudgingly accepted by the Tories both in the Commons and in the Lords.

The conflict has arisen over the inclusion of ship-repair firms. These, enjoying a captive market and being in less need to chase foreign orders, are still profitable. One firm in particular, Bristol Ship Repairs, ran a massive protest campaign through newspaper advertising,



portraying itself as a bastion of independent private enterprise complete with managers in shirtsleeves and loyal workers.

The Lords amended the bill to exclude ship-repairing from its scope. This has been the final demonstration that the upper house is responsive to any pleas from business interests to save their profits. The Commons having refused to accept the amendment, the entire bill lapsed at the end of the parliamentary session on Nov. 23. The government intends to re-introduce it early in the new session, which has just opened.

The House of Lords is of course an anachronism with no equivalent in any democratic country. Its members—recipients of the honor of peerage, plus a contingent of bishops—are elected by nobody. On isolated occasions, such as

some civil rights and humanitarian issues, it has proved more enlightened than the Commons. But in the major social and economic spheres it is inherently conservative.

In the past, the Lords enjoyed an absolute veto over the Commons; legislation that failed to pass both houses simply fell. In 1911, after a titanic battle between a Liberal government and Tory peers, provision was made for the will of the Commons to prevail when they passed a bill three times, the effect being to leave the Lords with a delaying power of two years. In 1949, a Labor government reduced this delay to one year (that is, bills are deemed to be passed at the second time of asking).

### ►Basic objection.

Yet there remained a basic objection to the composition of the upper house. Peers have inherited their titles for the most bizarre reasons—for example, one mistress of King Charles II successfully threatened to deny him her favors unless their son was made a duke. Lord Carrington, now Tory leader in the Lords, is the descendant of a banker (the family name is Smith) who was rewarded with a peerage for extending credit to debt-ridden Prime Minister William Pitt in the late 18th century. Of close to 1,000, most attend infrequently.

In 1957, Tory Prime Minister Harold Macmillan cleverly blunted the criticism by introducing the system of life peers. These hold their titles for life only with no hereditary element. The hereditary peers kept their seats, but the life peers—mostly politicians moved up from the Commons, with a sprinkling of respected "personalities" such as Lord (Laurence) Olivier—figured much more prominently in debates. The effect was to make the Lords more respectable or less ludicrous. It became acceptable for Labor politicians, even quondam radicals, to take peerages, a step that hitherto had been viewed as a betrayal.

Yet the system of inheritance had been diluted only by one of appointment and patronage. Also, since the Tories could appoint life peers as well as the Labor

party, there was no threat to the eternal Tory majority.

In the coming year, as well as clashes on economic issues, we shall see the government struggling to put through its devolution bill, setting up assemblies for Scotland and Wales. The intention is to get the bill through in the present session so that the assemblies can be elected in spring of 1978. The Lords, like other Tories, are hostile to changes in Britain's centralized political system and are quite likely to make amendments reducing the powers of the assemblies. These amendments, if unacceptable to the Commons, would delay the whole bill for a year. The Scots could lose their patience and demand independence.

Does England need a House of Lords at all? That question has been posed in a startling speech by Home Secretary Mervyn Rees. The speech is startling because Rees is a man of cautious temperament always aligned with the Right, not the Left, in the Labor party. He is a close intimate of Prime Minister Callaghan and master-minded the Callaghan campaign in the party election after Harold Wilson's retirement.

Opinions are divided on what might follow abolition of the Lords. Some want a wholly-nominated chamber in which representatives of various interests—industry, trade unions, consumer bodies, farmers—would sit by virtue of their office. Some want an upper house elected from larger constituencies than the Commons, on the model of the U.S. Senate. The objection to this would be the confusing multiplicity of elections (with votes to be introduced for the European Parliament as well as the Scottish and Welsh assemblies) plus the chance that the accident of timing should produce a Commons and a Senate opposed to each other. Some want single-chamber government, arguing for a House of Commons with an improved committee system.

The whole question is wide open. Mervyn Jones has worked as assistant editor of the *London Tribune* and of the *Newstatesman*. He has recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry, and is also a novelist.

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# Letters

## But Karl, says I, you're 4 years dead.

Editor:

Your issue of Nov. 22, p. 9, quotes a Reuters dispatch to the effect that Karl Marx was naturalized by Great Britain in 1887.

Karl Marx died in 1883. I knew that exhumations of the remains were posthumous—but naturalizations?

—Lee Baxandall  
Oshkosh, Wis.

## The burden is on us

Editor:

*In These Times* is generating a strong and growing interest on the part of a variety of people in the Seattle area. Most socialist newspapers have failed to reach beyond a narrow constituency of the already-convinced. *In These Times* has the potential to break out of that limited circle.

I was glad to see articles in the second and third issues reflecting different views of the Italian Communist party's strategy. I hope you will encourage debate over leading questions facing the left today.

In this spirit I differ with your contention that the "established formal democratic framework" should be the major political arena for socialists. You seem to view other forms of left activity as "mystical." In the debate over the achievement of socialism through electoral politics history puts the burden of proof on those who advocate the parliamentary path.

—Joe Peschek  
Seattle, Wash

## Reduced to muck

Editor:

The first two issues of *In These Times* were bright, attractive, readable and pertinent. However, the first editorial was unfortunate, the more so because, being first, it will be taken as a programmatic declaration. I saw two key problems:

1. With a few changes in terminology, the editorial would have been comfortably at home in the *Weekly People*. There is no concern with immediate issues and struggles, and therefore no treatment of the relationship between such issues and struggles and the socialist goal. To be sure, there are references to peace, unemployment, housing, etc., but these are treated as the concerns of others, not of *ITT*; and there certainly is no mention of struggles around these issues and what role *ITT* perceives for itself in relation to them. As a result, there is a certain abstraction about the treatment of socialism, and the image of *ITT* is that of a propaganda organ, not a combatant, not an active participant in contemporary struggles. In a sense, the editorial is a statement of theory, whereas the rest of the paper is a reflection of practice. And there is a striking gulf between theory and practice. The "practical" side of the paper is mostly attuned to current issues and struggles, whereas the "theoretical" side, i.e., the editorial, does not descend to those mundane things, it is preoccupied solely with socialism on some olympian height of abstraction.

2. There seemed to me to be a contradiction between the treatment of the "diversity of ideas, outlooks, experiences, and values among socialists and so-

cialist organizations" as an abstraction and the treatment of this diversity as it concretely manifests itself in the contemporary U.S. In concrete terms "the existing socialist parties" are tagged with "sectarian elitism or failure of nerve" and consequently behaving "as if in a silent partnership with the major parties." In the abstract "diversity" is extolled; in the concrete "diversity" is reduced to muck. And the latter is done in the context of denouncing "sectarian elitism"! Manifestly, I do not think that "existing socialist parties" are undeserving of sharp criticism, but—(a) I believe the criticism should not be leveled from a plateau of smug, sectarian conceit, and (b) I believe it should be informed with what Staughton Lynd once called "compassionate solidarity." I think that the paper should try to appeal to adherents and sympathizers of the "existing socialist parties," among many others. On the abstract level, the editorial's treatment of diversity does that, but this is negated by the references to the "existing socialist parties."

—Al Richmond  
San Francisco

## Drawing lines

Editor:

With the appearance of the three editions of *In These Times* our hopes as well as those of many friends are being fulfilled—that the gap in American journalism will be closed. At the same time, however, it is becoming evident that there will have to be a more precise specification of what an "independent socialist" perspective is. For example, the willingness on your side to apply "socialist" to the so-named government of Portugal is surprising; it is not surprising that this government finds support in Washington. In other words: *In These Times* is eventually going to have to show how it will avoid the (dilemma of?) "sectarian elitism or failure of nerve," of which it has accused the journalism of existing socialist parties. We wish you luck in your important venture between dogmatism and obscurantism; but this will entail drawing lines and distinctions even if they are not orthodox or frozen ones.

—Mechthild and James Hart  
Bloomington, Ind.

## A real newspaper?

Editor:

I am very impressed and excited by what I have read of *In These Times*. It's the first left paper I've seen that looks and reads like a real newspaper. It is written in English rather than Marxist-ese. The articles have a depth rare even among the best left papers, and the clarity of the best commercial papers.

I am impressed by the wide range of stories, both features and the short news stories. The China article by Nancy and David Milton (*ITT*, Nov. 15-22) was especially good. This is the first story on post-Mao China I have read that explains what is going on, why it is, without writing off the Chinese revolution, as the bourgeois press has. This is the type of journalism the left has needed for decades.

Enclosed is a check for \$55 for three gift subs and a \$10 donation to increase my original subscription to a sustaining subscription.

—Alan Howes  
University City, Mo.

## Jamaican PNP nothing new

Editor:

The Nov. 15 issue of *In These Times* is an auspicious beginning. Your format, content and coverage are excellent.

I wish your article on Jamaica by Saul Landau conformed to those minimum standards.

There is no evidence that Manley's rhetoric about socialism in this election is any different from the traditional PNP program. Contrary to the impression left by Landau, this has not led to any clear socialist program and any student of Jamaican history has to conclude that the programs of the PNP and the JLP have always been close—even though they have used different slogans. The means used to promote parties and candidates have also been similar. Both the PNP and the JLP have always used violence, exaggerated charges and physical intimidation of their opponents. This is not a characteristic of 1975 Jamaican politics—it is endemic in the Jamaican electoral process.

Landau really errs by presenting conclusions that are just not supported by the facts. Contrary to the Landau scenario is the following: Manley has not been able to furnish one single fact that would support either a CIA or MNC destabilization plan against him and he will not even acknowledge inquiries from reporters on the scene who have asked him about it. Manley's relationship with the big six who mine and process the bauxite and alumina are excellent and he (and the companies) will confirm it. Manley may be closer to Cuba than some people would like, but this does not mean his relations with the U.S. are growing more distant. Manley himself, and his ambassador to the U.S. Alfred Rattray and Foreign Minister Dudley Thompson have been at great pains to make this clear to U.S. business circles. The same circles that are regularly signing agreements with the PNP and who are being ardently wooed by Manley.

Landau says that "American disapproval of Manley's actions turned into destabilizing actions" and so forth. A lot of people have heard these charges in Jamaica. The PNP, and Manley and Thompson and Rattray and the Jamaican mission to the U.N. have been asked to give the evidence. In several cases this was by people who wanted to expose any CIA and MNC plot that may exist. None of the charges will be repeated by any representative of Jamaica—or of the PNP—outside or inside the country.

The left in Jamaica is wary of these charges and of Manley's socialism. They are also concerned about the most draconian gun law in the western world and a "state of emergency" during an election—when that crisis is being used against opponents. If there is a CIA plot against the PNP please expose it. Find the plot, and the evidence, first. Landau, and Philip Agee, have looked for it. Agee admits he couldn't find it.

—John Gusiki  
Los Angeles

## Saul Landau replies:

Political violence in Jamaica is not endemic. It began in 1966 in Western Kingston when Edward Seaga first ran for Parliament against Dudley Thompson. Organized gangs decimated the People's National Party ranks and organization. Seaga won what had been a PNP seat. Since then no systematic violence has occurred till this year.

Socialism had not been an issue in any previous campaign. Manley won in 1972. He began to talk about democratic socialism in 1974.

Socialism has meant several concrete things to Jamaicans: land reform (break up of idle estates); formation of sugar co-operatives, similar to Fidel Castro's early coops and Nyrere's; free high school education and adult literacy programs; rural development for the small holder; state ownership of an increasing percent of the island's economy.

More than that socialism has begun to function ideologically to hold the PNP together. On Sept. 18, 1976, Manley told party delegates that those who did not believe in socialism should not belong to the party. There is no "left" in Jamaica

outside of the PNP, only sectarian groupings. Even Trevor Munroe's tiny Revolutionary Worker's League supports Manley and the PNP, albeit critically.

Destabilization took place, is taking place. A pattern similar to Chile emerged in many respects. As with Chile it is hard to extract evidence from the CIA until they choose to testify before congressional committees. However, the following clearly implicates the U.S. in the destabilization campaign.

Philip Agee exposed 11 probable CIA agents in Jamaica, eight of them for certain. They all left the island as soon as their names were mentioned.

The U.S. Treasury has admitted holding up Jamaican loans. "Do you think that we should let them unilaterally rip us off and get away with it," said a Treasury Department spokesman, referring to Manley's raising the bauxite levy.

The ExIm Bank lowered Jamaica's credit rating this year, causing creditors to demand cash payments, thereby depleting Jamaica's foreign reserves.

American corporate executives play a key role in the lie and rumor campaign against Manley and the PNP. A bauxite executive assured me that Manley was a communist and urged me to spread the word in journalistic circles when I returned to the U.S. At an American oil company executive meeting rumors are made up and spread, according to a Jamaican executive of the company.

Except for Kaiser all the American aluminum companies have not taken cooperative attitudes. They filed claims as soon as the bauxite levy was raised and Revere abandoned its holdings claiming that the tax rise was expropriatory. Alcoa staged a six-week shut down this year complaining that the government could not protect its property.

Strikes and labor disturbances among white collar and other sectors broke out all year. Bogus anti-communist Christian groups appeared with letters in the press warning of atheism and Cuban tanks in the streets of Kingston.

In short, destabilization is a fact. U.S. complicity is clear, though it has yet to be proved. Allende also could not prove anything, except for Jack Anderson's information that ITT offered the CIA \$1 million to help stop Allende.

Manley has not suppressed the Rastafarians or anyone else. The gun control law is a model for all countries. Guns are simply outlawed and heavy penalties are imposed for illegal possession of firearms. When Manley put the gun control law into effect he had the support of the vast majority of the island.

Gusiki has a bone to pick with Manley, but he should not allow this to obscure the importance of a PNP-Manley victory on Dec. 15. If Manley wins, the program of democratic socialism will have a chance to take off, to begin building a solid infrastructure. He will be able to count on help from Cuba and from other socialist countries as well as from those developed countries who see their long range interest in promoting a more equitable distribution of wealth now and avoiding wars later.

Gusiki's letter reveals an attitude that the American left should long since have abandoned. Socialism should somehow be "purer" than it is in developing nations. Jamaican socialism has gone as far as its historic and geographic circumstances permit.

Bauxite has been defined by the United States as a national security resource and Manley would be a fool to attack the United States government directly at this point. Castro understands this and offers Manley all the support he can muster.

It is not too much to request of individual Americans on the left that they work to correct the distorted image of Jamaican socialism spread by sectarians and the imperialists.

The majority of the left in Jamaica is inside the PNP, with Manley, or are struggling alongside him to defeat the imperialist candidate, Edward Seaga. ■



Salvador Luria

# NASA's 'life on Mars' search: The reasons behind the charade



The search for signs of life on the planet Mars was the main goal of the Viking 1 and Viking 2 expeditions. The search consisted of scooping up samples of Martian soil in a few spots near the spaceships' landing sites and testing them in an automated laboratory on Mars itself. What was looked for was evidence of active chemical processes like those carried out by living earthly organisms, and also the presence of organic compounds, that is, of carbon compounds such as those made by organisms on Earth.

For several months the National Aeronautic and Space Administration (NASA) released almost daily bulletins on the search for Martian life. The reports were optimistic and even euphoric. The NASA scientists and consultant astronomers and biologists were sanguine. Their reports made front page news in the commercial press. Within a few weeks the *New York Times* had two enthusiastic editorials urging renewed efforts (and appropriations) in the search for Martian life.

Then in late October a short item appeared on page 18 of the *Times*, reporting that the most sensitive tests by an expert M.I.T. chemist had revealed not the slightest trace of organic matter in any of the samples, nor has any other sign of life been reported.

To understand what is going on one must look more closely both at what life is and what NASA is. Neither subject is straightforward.

Life on Earth manifests itself by a surprisingly large amount of chemical activity almost everywhere on the surface of the planet. Surprisingly, because all matter left to itself tends to settle quickly into a state of minimal energy, like water running downhill. Chemical activity, then, tends to stop unless some exceptional process keeps it going.

What keeps it going on the Earth's crust is life. An immense mass of organisms of all sorts is continuously processing large amounts of carbon compounds, trapping the energy of sunlight and storing part of it in the molecules of oxygen in the atmosphere.

The important thing, however, is not just the existence of life: it is the fact that on Earth life exists in large amounts practically everywhere. A unique combination of conditions—surface temperature, amount of water, levels of radioactivity—at the time when the Earth was young, about three to four billion years ago, made it possible for an abundant reservoir of organic-type molecules to form spontaneously on the Earth's surface before life itself arose. Then certain classes of molecules like the proteins and

nucleic acids that are present now in living cells could come into existence and find conditions that allowed them to spread all over the Earth and to evolve.

The key point is that the flourishing and evolution of life required a very special environment. It seems most unlikely that conditions like those that existed on Earth could ever have occurred on Mars. Even if in some obscure recess of the Martian surface life-like molecules might have come into existence, they would not have found the chemical environment needed for them to spread and evolve. The expectation of finding life or signs of life in a few ounces of Martian soil was naive and possibly even ludicrous.

Why then all the excitement in the commercial press and the barrage of optimistic releases? Some scientists probably differed from this writer and took the possibility of life on Mars more seriously. Some were carried away by the excitement of the splendid gadgetry. One scientist connected with the Viking program told me that it seemed perfectly OK to waste a billion dollars that might otherwise have gone to the Pentagon to build a nuclear submarine.

Maybe so. But there are grounds for misgivings. In the first place, NASA and other agencies are putting up huge spectacles, like the man-on-the-moon pro-

ject and the search for life on Mars, in order to build good will among the public for their appropriations, which include serious science as well as questionable technological projects. The commercial press is interested only in the glamorous adventures and neglects to point out the failures and triviality of certain programs. Is that the way serious science should be advertised and supported?

There are other reasons for concern. The relation of NASA to the military activities of the Pentagon has never been fully clarified. In 1956 NASA was acting as cover-up for the spy flights over Russia, a story that caused much embarrassment to the U.S. when President Eisenhower first denied it and then had to acknowledge it as true.

Even apart from such direct involvement, one should remember that much of the gadgetry of space exploration is a by-product of guidance systems that are steadily being perfected by the Pentagon for military purposes, as part of its budget of over \$100 billion a year. The excitement over space technology—very little of it is science—also supports, indirectly, the proliferation of a military apparatus that may some day lead to disaster.

Salvador Luria is a Nobel laureate in bio-chemistry and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His column appears regularly.

Roberta Lynch

# The anti-abortion movement is a force to be reckoned with



A friend recently described to me her shock on hearing a white middle-aged secretary passionately denounce the Supreme Court of the U.S. as "nine men who want to try to tell women what they should be doing." The words may not be all that surprising, but the context is: the woman was a speaker at an anti-abortion rally. This odd meeting of feminist rhetoric and anti-feminist perspective is but one of a score of contradictions that underlie the movement that soared to prominence in the recent presidential race. The anti-abortion movement is a complex mix of religion, politics, and gut feelings—and it cannot be ignored.

On the whole, feminists have tended to view the anti-abortionists as religious zealots—largely Catholic—embarked on a new crusade. The left has commonly seen them as part of the resurgence of right-wing movements on the American political scene. While both descriptions are partially accurate, it is precisely the refusal of the movement to fit neatly into either category that has made it a force to be reckoned with.

It is impossible to fully understand the anti-abortion movement without understanding the role of the Catholic Church within it. The Church has never before ventured so forthrightly into the political arena in this country. But then the Church has seldom been so threatened by an act of government. Legalization of abortion undermines its moral authority in the area that was once its chief domain and in which its authority has steadily eroded for the last decade—sexual relations.

And the Church has responded with all the fervor of an old nun who discovers two sixth graders kissing in the cloak room. In New York, a woman who confesses to having had an abortion is given a new kind of penance: go and join

Birthright (an anti-abortion group). In Philadelphia, local parish charity organizations mobilize women members to attend anti-abortion demonstrations. In Chicago, the Cardinal issued a letter to be read at Sunday mass just before the elections strongly hinting that good Catholics will vote only for anti-abortion candidates.

More than any other single force the Church has contributed to the aura of moral zeal that the movement exudes. But

dates, but also to provide ammunition in the broader ideological struggle. The anti-abortion movement in their hands becomes another cry for preservation of "traditional" (read "conservative") family patterns and social values.

But while the right may be working hard to influence its direction, there is no doubt that the anti-abortion movement represents a variety of political views. It even includes people who were active in the anti-war and/or civil rights

*"In a society in which school children go without breakfast or lunch... it is a singular tragedy that so much potentially positive energy is consumed in the defense of a fetus."*

while the Catholic Church may be the back-bone of the anti-abortion organizations, the rank and filers are not all Catholics and spokespeople carefully stress the movement's multi-denominational makeup. Conversely, and more ironically, despite the most diligent efforts of the Church, many Catholics not only avoid the movement, but support legalized abortion. A recent survey in the Chicago suburbs indicated that 50 percent of all Catholics and 84 percent of Catholic women are in this camp.

Accusations of right-wing involvement in the movement are also partly true. James Buckley, the most conservative of senators, has been the darling of the anti-abortionists. The right, in general, has set out to use the movement for political ends. They sense its potential not just to aid in the election of right-wing candi-

movements and who see their current activity as heir to those earlier struggles.

More important, many women who comprise the anti-abortion movement are neither following religious orders nor doing ideological battle; they are convinced that "respect for human life" is at stake. Of course, it is another of the movement's ironies that it places respect for the future life of a fetus over the actual life of the woman who bears it.

But there is also an irony in our own position that we—the women's movement and the left—must confront directly: that we who fight for justice, equality and human rights are in conflict in this case not primarily with the powers-that-be of this society, but with large numbers of women motivated by a fundamentally human, if one-sided, impulse.

It is in a sense our own failure that we have not been able to touch the same depth of concern in them for the fate of the living. In a society in which school children go without breakfast or lunch, in which men batter their wives, and in which workers manufacture chemicals that eat out their lungs, it is a singular tragedy that so much potentially positive energy is consumed in the defense of a fetus.

I am reminded sadly of an article I read on the way the right mobilized women in Chile to help lay the groundwork for the overthrow of the Allende government. The women were not "political" and they were not all upper or middle class (though such women led the movement). But they were moved to action by forceful campaigns appealing to their "natural feminine" concern for children and for future generations.

The anti-abortion movement is already overwhelmingly white—and it has not spoken out in a way that addresses minority women who are concerned about abortion and sterilization policies. It has already shown its willingness to identify with almost any politician who will support its goals—whatever his/her stand on other issues. And it has already illustrated its willingness to sacrifice poor women to its narrow goal—by virgorously supporting the cutoff of medicaid funds for abortion.

All these trends are likely to push it farther into the arms of the right as the movement develops. We need to assess whether we can only watch it go, or whether we can yet convince the women at its base to abandon their opposition to legalized abortion in favor of struggles that can create a society to improve life for the living.

Roberta Lynch is National Secretary of the New American Movement. Her column appears regularly.



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## Congress challenges the President

When President-elect Jimmy Carter is inaugurated next January and the 95th Congress convenes, the two branches of government will be in the hands of the same party for the first time in eight years. But things won't be the same as when Lyndon B. Johnson was in the White House.

The 93rd Congress began to reverse the steady erosion of congressional power that began with Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson before and during World War I, continued at an accelerated pace with the New Deal of the 1930s and World War II, and mounted during the cold war until it reached its culmination with the Vietnam war, Nixon and detente.

Indeed, mild as this rupture in the 20th century tradition of congressional obeisance to an imperial Presidency has been, it was startling enough to cause the *New York Times* (Nov. 28) to depart from its own traditional reserve and to characterize the work of the last Congress as "one of the most dramatic institutional turnabouts in American history."

Though not quite the turnabout the *Times* supposes or the nation needs, the implications of the tendencies in Congress may be greater than the *Times* would like to think: They portend a new phase in American political history—what political scientist Walter Dean Burnham refers to as a "critical realignment" in American politics, going to the roots of our social-political and class structure.

It may be a phase in which the conflict between political, economic, and social democracy on the one side, and corporate power on the other, will become the central theme of mainstream American politics—a theme that could find its institutional expression in a "constitutional" crisis of Congress *versus* the executive.

### ►Corporate focus on executive branch.

The federal executive has been the focus of concentrated corporate power in national and international affairs throughout this century. Centralization of economic power in the giant corporations and banks has gone hand in hand with growing centralization of governmental power in Washington, and has entailed a shift of initiative and authority from Congress to the President.

The Executive branch—including the Cabinet, administrative, regulatory, intelligence, and planning agencies—is staffed by presidential appointees consisting, in an inordinate degree, of corporate executives, investment bankers, pro-corporate academic experts, and corporate lawyers. The obstacles to popular influence or control over the cabinet and administrative and other agencies are virtually insurmountable, since they are only indirectly subject to the electoral process. For example, voters are virtually closed out of the process now going on by which Carter is selecting and unveiling those who will rule.

Similarly, the Federal Reserve Board and the various regulatory agencies are presided over by past presidential appointees who may be replaced only at prescribed intervals by the sitting president. This makes for continuity of the presidential office beyond the changes in the person of the president and another step removed from the voters' presidential preference.

For these reasons the Lords Corporate have focused their political power upon the presidential office as against Congress. In their language, the executive is an instrument for continuity, stability of policy and cohesiveness of command. It



is more controllable, it concentrates power, and it is insulated from direct determination by elections. When Americans elect a president, they elect the elector of their executive governors.

### ►Congress not neglected.

Not that corporations neglect Congress—by no means. They lobby, buy good will, and cultivate the allegiance of strategic members and leaders in both houses. Most Senate and House members are

substantial opportunities for the broadening of those trends and for the strengthening of popular resistance to corporate power.

### ►New faces.

The present stage of congressional revival has been accompanied by an influx of new Senate and House members with proclivities for untraditional ideas and anti-corporate initiatives. Especially in the House, the new members are younger, tend to be better educated, and less will-

*A critical realignment in American Politics, going to the roots of our social system...*

tied by family, friendship, clientage, and personal investment to the corporate system. The seniority system, powerfully reinforced in the past by the "solid South," has further undergirded congressional service of corporate power. But now the solid South is gone and other changes are emerging.

Unlike members of the executive branch below the President and vice-president, members of Congress are elected directly, and are subject to regular re-election—in the House every two years. Each House district is relatively small and much more susceptible to popular mobilization and organization than an entire state or the nation as a whole.

The House is the branch closest to the people and, when enough of the people are aroused, the House takes in more members, more quickly, who represent popular causes.

The budding reassertion of congressional authority and initiative in policy in the last Congress, is in part the result of anti-corporate trends in the United States over the past decade or so. It also creates

ing to bide their time waiting for seniority, than were their predecessors.

Among them, many are less beholden to regular party organizations; their allegiances are strongly claimed by voter constituents with interests and demands opposed to corporate interests—unionized workers, consumer and ecology groups, women's organizations, Afro-American movements, other minority groups, and various grass-roots organizations.

### ►New congressional powers.

Both in sentiment and organization, the House as a whole is moving away from its almost unquestioning subservience to the executive. That it is doing so in foreign as well as in domestic affairs, is particularly significant, since foreign policy has come to dominate and circumscribe domestic priorities.

A 1976 survey by the House International Relations Committee and the Government Accounting Office (GAO) showed that 80 percent of the 238 members who responded believed the legislative branch had played an inadequate role

at the time of the Mayaguez incident and during the Angolan war of 1975. The same percentage believed that Congress "must assume a more assertive role during international crises," and must be adequately informed of developments at such times.

These views are consistent with congressional actions that pressured the Nixon-Ford administration to end military involvement in Vietnam, and that enacted legislation over presidential veto to prevent long-term wars without Congressional sanction. These were modest, even timid, moves, but they are moves that Congress did not dare or care to make in the past.

In domestic affairs, and perhaps of greater ultimate significance, Congress enacted new budget and impoundment procedures that give Congress the leverage to contest with the President over control of federal expenditures and revenues.

Beyond that, in recent years the House and Senate have developed their own corps of specialists and their own sources of information, especially in the areas of budget-making and foreign affairs. This provides an added measure of congressional challenge to the virtually monopolistic control heretofore exercised by the president and the cabinet over budgeting and intelligence—over the two great conditions of power in politics: the purse and information.

Shades of the 18th century colonial legislatures *versus* the British-appointed Governors. Shades of Congress *versus* President Andrew Johnson. More shade than substance still, but it is a good deal more than before, and the process has just begun.

*In next week's editorial we take up the question of making shade into substance, or the implications for socialists.*